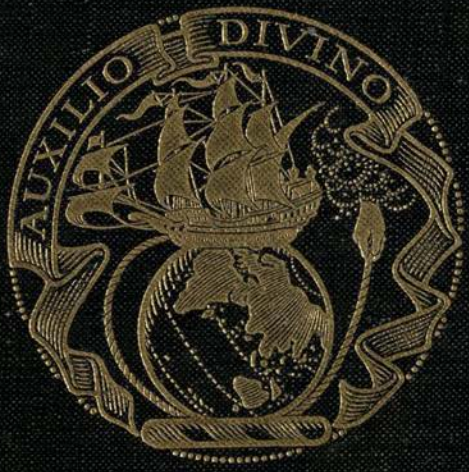

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume II

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME II

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First Governor of the East India Company.

THE SECOND VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a description of all the Circumnavigations of the Globe; and the Navigations and Voyages of Englishmen, alongst the Coasts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea, the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian Shoares, Continents and Ilands

A Description of all the Circum-navigations of the Globe [I. ii. 1.]

THE SECOND BOOKE

Chap. I.

Of the improvement of Navigation in later Times, and the meanes whereby the World in her old Age hath beene more then ever discovered.

§. I.

Of Magneticall and Astronomicall Instruments, first applyed to Navigation.

GOd, the giver of every good gift, having first made the World, made Man, as it were a visible God of this visible World; infusing in his super-admirable Creation, the knowledge of it, of himselfe, of God. This Trinitie of Knowledge was defaced by Mans voluntarie Rebellion, which enforced against him the Sentence of Curse from the ever-blessed Trinitie: Which yet in Judgement remembring Mercie, did not at once dissolve the World, or Man, but altered his Tenure, suffering him as a Customarie Tenant for terme of life (to be holden at the Will of the Lord) to occupy and husband it for the necessitie of his Body;

leaving also some sparkes of that Heavenly Fire in his Soule (maugre those darkest flames of Hell) whereby he might by laborious Art (being robbed of his white and pure Robes, wherewith Nature had adorned him) patch together Leaves or Skins for a time, to cover some part of his nakednesse. Neyther is * it any more, or of more worth, that here we labour for, and get as Servants, then some light Plumes and broken Feathers of that goodly Fowle, which wholly without labour God had first given us as Children.

**In the sweat of thy Browes thou shalt eat, &c.*

Thus in regard of this temporall state; which yet he (out of a Curse producing Blessing) made the Seed-time of a better Harvest, a richer Possession (raysed out of this Rubbish of our Ruine) by farre then that which we had lost: for Time, which we had forfeited, giving us Eternitie, which cannot die; for Paradise, Heaven; and God himselfe for the World; an earnest whereof wee have alreadie, his Sonne given for us, his Spirit to us, and the promise of Himselfe in ineffable fruition.

[I. ii. 2.] Yea, meane-while, to solace this our wearie Pilgrimage, he hath given an erected * Countenance to the Body, still to be viewing the utter Court of our promised Palace, the faire Walls of our fairer Inheritance; and to the Soule the Eye of Art, whereby not leaving the greater, or her little, Earth, it can in a moment mount and surmount Heaven, and compasse all this spacious extension (that I speake not of that spirituall Eye of * Faith, which sees things unseene, the priviledge of his Saints.) Yea, she hath found out meanes, by the Givers bountie, to carry her beloved Body (not from some high Mountaine to overlooke the lowly Plaines, or as Moses into Mount Nebo, in Vision, to see that, which to see with joyfull enjoying, was denyed; but) really and actually to possesse and use the remotest Seas and Lands. She emboldeneth the Body to forsake her Earthly Nest, and (like young Eaglets on the Eagles Wings) carryeth her to take a Naturall and Universall Possession of the Universe, where the Heavens alone * are spread about her as a Curtaine, where the

**Os homini sublime dedit, Cœlumque videre, &c.*

**Faith is the evidence of things unseene. Heb. 11. 1. Deut. 34.*

*Ps. 104. *— Nil nisi pontus & æther. — Cœlum undique & undique pontus.*

Beames of her Chambers are (in properest sense) layd in the Waters, where the Clouds are her Chariot (the Wheeles at least) whereby shee walketh on the wings of the Wind, and those swelling Spirits are made her Drivers; the angriest Element being tamed by industrious Art, which useth all their Natures to her best purposes.

To compasse this in former times, was impossible, and how many Seas to our fore-fathers impassable, for want of the Compasse? The Starres and Coasts were then the Guides, and without those Stilts, and Stayes, Navigation durst not adventure, in that her impotencie and infancie, to goe into the Maine. And if any disastrous Stormes had made sudden surprize of Ship and Men, the Master found himselfe and his Art at a losse in the midst of his Ship and Mariners; and if the frowning Heavens long refused with wonted Eyes to looke on him, and the absented Earth forgot to extend her Lap and Armes, lost hee must bee for ever. No great Discoverie was otherwise by the Art of the Ancients performed; nor durst any repeat that Lesson by Art, which Tempest had occasionally taught him, farre from the Coast, against his will. Chance is a forgetfull Mistresse, unlesse Art be the Usher of her Schoole, teaching and emboldening to repetition of her casuall Lectures.

God Almightie pittying this Frailtie, intending better things to the last and worst Ages of the World (as in this fulnesse of time he sent his Sonne and the Spirit of his Sonne to prepare men for Heaven, so since, I hope to further the former) hath given the Science of the Loadstone and Astronomicall Rules and Instruments, applyed by Art to Navigation, that hee might give more ample Possession of the Sea and the Earth to the sonnes of Men. Let others applaud, admire, adore, the Stones called Precious: this shall bee to mee Pearle and Ruby, and Saphire, and Diamant, and more then all those multiplyed Names of Gemmes, which all are also made ours by helpe of the Loadstone. This Magneticall vertue was hidden to the Golden and Silver Ages, her Iron sympathie hath long

Two later helpes of Navigation unknowne to Antiquitie.

beene knowne to the Iron World; but her constant Polar ravishments, and her no lesse constant inconstancie by Variation, were Mysteries reserved to later Posterities. The former of these Qualities yeelds the Compasse, the Needle by Magneticall touch directing the way in waylesse Wildernesses by Land, and thorow the vastest Waterie Plaines.

This vertue of the Loadstone, to be the Lead-stone and Way-directing Mercurie thorow the World, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, Lucretius, Plinie, his Solinus, and Ptolomee, Scholers of the highest Formes in Natures Schoole, knew not, though the Magneticall attraction of Iron be mentioned in their Workes. Some have also added some Physicall Vertues, and some the Fables of the Adamant and Garlike preventing that attraction, which later Authors have received by authoritie, without due examination. But if any list to see Armies of Authors mustered, and their Writings also of this Subject examined, Dr. Gilbert in his learned Worke of the Magnete, hath done it in sixe whole Bookes; the causes also enquired both of that attraction, and this (whereof we now speake) Polar motion. This invention some ascribe to Salomon: which I would beleeve, if he had written of Stones, as he did of Plants; or if the Tyrians, which were almost the engrossers of * Navigation in that Age, and were the Sea-men which Salomon used in his Ophyrian Discoveries (which we have laboured in fitter place to discover) had left any Tradition or Monument thereof to Posteritie: which could no more have been lost then sayling it selfe; which the Greekes, Carthaginians, and other Nations successively derived from them. Others therefore looke further into the East, whence the Light of the Sunne and Arts have seemed first to arise to our World; and will have Marco Polo the Venetian above three hundred yeeres since to have brought it out of Mangi (which wee now call China) into Italy. True it is, that the most magnified Arts have there first beene borne, Printing, Gunnes, and perhaps this also of the Compasse,

Gilbertus de Magnete.

**Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyrus.*

Vid. §. 7.

which the Portugals at their first entry of the Indian Seas (whereof you shall presently heare) found amongst the Mores, together with Cards and Quadrants to observe both the Heavens and the Earth. And Vertomannus about the same time travelled with them over the Arabian Desarts to Mecca and Medina, directing their course by the Compasse, and there also observed that Tale of Mahumets Body hanging in the Roofe of the Temple by the attractive power of Loadstones (which Chinocrates is reported to have intended to himselfe at Alexandria, in the Temple of Arsinoe, making the Roofe of these Stones, so to attract his Iron Image, prevented by death) to be but a Tale and Fable. But as neyther Printing nor Ordnance were brought from thence to us, but (casuall Acts opening a passage to industrious Arts) were invented by European heads, and brought to riper perfections then in the East, which had knowne them before, so I also conceive of these Marine Instruments. Nor will I envie to John Goia of [a]Malfi, that whatsoever glory of the first Invention, which Blondus and others (some [b] naming him Flavius) have ascribed to him. Italy indeed hath best deserved in Discoveries, for her Polo and Goia, and Vertoman, now mentioned, and for her Colombo and Cabota, of which is question, whether first found out the Variation of the Needle, or whether discovered more of the New World; though another Italian, Americus Vesputius, carried the [c]Name away from them both.

1503. *Vert. c.* 14. [I. ii. 3.]

[a] *A Towne in the Kingdome of Naples: of which is this Verse, Prima dedit nautis usumMagnetis Amalphis.*
[b] *Lop. de Gomara, cap.* 9. *Bellon. Obs. l.* 2. *c.* 16.
[c] *America. Vide Epist. Ed. Wright ante Gilb. op. de Mag.*

This Variation is, when the Magneticall Needle points not out the true Pole, but is distracted somewhat eyther with an Easterly or Westerly deflexion. This Variation of the Compasse is the best remedie yet found out against the Mariners Variation from their Compasse, and Deviation from their scope and intended course. And although the Variation cannot without Starre or Sunne be observed, as the direction of the Compasse may (which gives Light in the darkest Night, pointing still toward the Pole) neyther can hereby the true longitude of Places be discovered (this Light shines most out of Darkenesse, and

from Ecclipses, which I have therefore in this Historie taken all occasions to observe, is most illustrious and plaine) yet for ordinarie and generall use in Discoveries and Navigations in unknowne Seas, this yeelds best supply of that knowledge of Longitudes, by reason of the constant inconstancie (as I said) of this Variation. For howsoever it varies from the true Pole, yet it never varies from it selfe, but in the same place eternally holds the same Variation, if it be exactly observed; which sometimes, by want in the Instrument or Workman, and almost alway by Sea, through the unsteadinesse thereof, falls out, and therefore is better farre, being taken in calme Weather, and best, if opportunitie serve, on Land.

[d] *How vaine a thing is Man? who can by reason manifest the number of the Spheres? of the Elements? or that there are Spheres? their substance, operation, motion? yea, whether the Earth or the Heavens move, or both, is yet undecided. How many opinions of the Ancients are now proved false by experience? And had not God given us his Word for the ground of our faith (which the Devill envying, hath here also obtruded Tradition) what certaintie had remained, but knowledge of evill unto his Posteritie, who for knowledge lost Paradise?*

[e] *Scalig. Exerc. 131.*

Now for the Causes[d] eyther of Direction or Variation, Philosophers have rather busied their owne, then established others Conceits from variation by their Directions, and pointing out the causes hereof in nature: some, telling us of Hyperboreall Magneticall Mountaines; some, deriving the cause from the Pole of the Heaven; some, from a Starre in the tayle of the greater Beare; some from the Heavens neere to the Pole; some goe also beyond the Poles and Heavens, to I know not what Magneticall Power, placed out of place; some lead us into a Magneticall Iland (Ly-land) every man will say somewhat, and so doe they that flye to hidden Miracles in Nature. But that somewhat is nothing: And we indeed are lesse then Nothing and Vanitie; which, whiles we call all our Arguments Demonstrations, and all our Arts Sciences, neyther know God, nor the World, or Nature, nor our selves, how ever vainly puffed up with the Conceits and Deceits of Knowledge. Ego vero quid? (sayth [e] Scaliger of this Subtletie, who yet hath a Reason too, though as reasonlesse (perhaps) as those of others; so fortunately doth our Wit find it selfe unfortunate, and knowes but one thing, that it knowes nothing) quid aliud nisi unum verum? nos in luce rerum tenui caligare, in mediocri cæcutire, in majori cæcos esse, in maxima insanire. Quid aliud quàm me nescire? Solus omnium ego nihil afferendo veritatem attuli.

Most laborious have beene the paines, most probable (perhaps) the reasons of our Countreyman Doctor Gilbert, by many yeeres experiments in this subject, who hath observed the whole Earth to bee as a great Loadstone, the Loadstone and the Iron (which naturally also with exact tryall hee hath observed, even without [f]touch, to hold like Direction and Variation, in respect of the Pole) to containe the principall Qualities of the Earth; that the Direction and Variation are both, not from Contraction or Coition, or other hidden cause, but from the disposing power of the Earth, and the convertible nature of the Magnete, the Earth it selfe being Mother and originall Fountaine of the Magneticall vertues and operations. Hee deriveth the Direction from the Polar conformitie of the Earth; the Variation, from the inequalitie of the same, in the Superficies thereof; partly by Seas, partly by Mountaines, which have difformed though not deformed the Globositie of this Globe, in paying to other places by excessive height whatsoever was taken from the Deepes, to make Channels for the Waters. Hence the greater Continents of Earth have greater force and power, and where the Earth is most depressed or weakened, there hath it lesser; yet so, as these Magneticall Motions being from the constant Magneticall nature of the whole Earth, a small Iland cannot prejudice or prevent the clayme of the greater Continent. Thus in the Azores the Needle hath no apparant Variation, which on the Coast of Guinnee inclines Eastward to the African [g]Continent, and neere the American bends Westward; in these Ilands as indifferent betwixt two equall Continents, aimes at the Pole of the Earth, and therefore Magneticall. His many [h]Rules, Experiments, and Observations are worthy a learned and leysurely Reader: My selfe having haste to travell over the World, and that with so many Travellers, cannot stand in this Muze, or Maze rather of Philosophers. Let us

[f] *By helpe of the Loadstone, rich veines of Iron and other Metals are discovered. In Militarie Affaires, both in Mining, levelling of Peeces in the darke, also in Building, conveying of Waterworkes, and a thousand other Devices, is use of the Loadstone.*

[I. ii. 4.]

[g] *Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Variation doubles and lookes to the West from the Pole, as the Land doth.*

[h] *All Compasses are not fit for all Navigations, as appeares by the differences of those in the Straits, and here, &c. the variation least neere the Line in* 60. 70. *or* 80. *very great, &c.*

now consider not the naturall Causes, which are hard, but take easier view of the sensible effects thereof in the furtherance of Navigation, wherein the touched Needle is the Soule as it were of the Compasse, by which every skilfull Mariner is emboldened to compasse the whole Body of the Universe. Let the Italians have their prayse for Invention: the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoveries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see it selfe. These first also of all Europeans, applyed by the direction of King John (as followeth in this storie) Astronomicall Instruments to this Magneticall, and occasioned those Spanish Discoveries in the New World, by Colombo's Industry.

The Load-stone was the Lead-stone, the very Seed and ingendring Stone of Discoverie, whose soever Joviall Braine first conceived that Minerva. But the Juno Lucina, that helped Nature in this happy Conception and educated Discoverie to that strength, that it durst ordinarily adventure beyond the knowne World, and made way to that Maturitie, whereby it opened soone after another World, was Prince Henry of Portugall.

Portugals prayse.

Thus doth the Great God rayse up the least things to Greatnesse: and this, one of the last and least of Europæan Kingdomes, was dignified with the first search and Science of Discoveries. Spaine and Portugall, after a long servitude, fattened their Soyle with the bloud of the Moores, and thence have growne by Divine Blessing not onely to free themselves of that Yoke, but with farre-spreading Boughes to over-looke and over-awe the remotest East and furthest West; paying themselves with the Drugges and Gemmes of Asia, the Gold and Slaves of Africa, the Silver and Possessions of America, as Wages for that Europæan slavery under the Mahumetans, many Ages continued, which now shall follow to be declared.

§. II.

Of Henry, third sonne to John the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoveries: and of the helpes both against the Mores, and in their Discoveries which the Portugals have received of our Nation.

THe Saracens (as we have related [a] elsewhere) about the yeere* 712. brought by Julianus Earle of Cepta (to revenge the deflowring of his Daughter Caba by Rodericus, the last of the Gottish Kings) into Spaine, under the conduct of Muses, conquered and subjected the same to Ulit the Chalipha. Pelagius [b] began first to make head against these Barbarians, whose successors had succeeded in the same Quarrell with prosperous successe above three hundred yeeres space, when Alphonsus the sixt tooke Toledo from the Mores. He, in recompence of good services in the Warres, gave unto Henry of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, his Daughter Teresa, with the Countrey of Portugall in Dowrie, and whatsoever he could further conquer from the Mores, by Title of an Earle: whose sonne Don Alphonso was the first King of that Realme, newly erected on the bloud and desolation of the Mores in those parts, whom by degrees they chased quite out of that Kingdome, from that time till that of John the first. He pursuing that Hereditarie Quarrell, passed over Sea into Africa, and there tooke Cepta, and brake the Ice to his Posteritie, which made valiant and successefull progresse in those Designes of Africa, till their Navigations into Asia with greater hopes and happinesse, made them neglect that neerer and dearer Purchase.

[a] *P. Pilg. l.* 3. *c.* 2. §. 2.
* *Some say* 714.
[b] *See Spanish Hist. Turquet. li.* 1. *Bar. Dec.* 1. *li.* 1.

This Conquest of Cepta, or Seut, is mentioned by Thomas [c] Walsingham, which then lived, in these words: 'This yeere the King of Portugall relying on the helpe of the Merchants of England most of all, and of the Almans,

[c] *T. Wals. Hist. Ang. An.* 1415.

overcame the Agarens in the Land of the King of the Betinarines, many thousands of them being sent to Hell; and tooke their Citie, seated on the Sea, called Sunt, very large, compassed with a Wall, as they say, of twentie miles.' Some reason the English had to this Assistance: for the Wife of Don John was Philip, Daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Sister to Henry the fourth, whose sonne Henry the fifth then reigned in England. They did imitate also their English Ancestors, who long before, in the time of Henry the second, had joyned themselves with other Northerne [d]Pilgrimes for the Expedition to the Holy-Land, and sayling together from Dartmouth, about 37. ships well manned touched at Lisbone, where the Portugall King besought their aid against the Mores in the Citie Sylvia, or Sylvis, profering to them the spoyle in recompence. Which they attempted, and on the third day of the Siege, brake into the Suburbs, and forced Alchad the Prince to yeeld the Citie, wherein were of all sorts above 60000. Mores, whereof 47000. were slaine, and the Mahumetan Temple consecrated to the Mother of God.

[d] *A.D.* 1188. *vid. Mat. Paris. in fine Hen.* 2. [I. ii. 5.]

Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English; as also in the example of some Englishmen, and namely one Macham, which had beene by tempest driven on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, then that English Lady before mentioned, whose third sonne Don Henry was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endevours of the English (whose flesh and bloud hee was) which this ensuing Historie shall present unto you.

This illustrious Henry having given proofe of his valour against the Infidels at Cepta, devised [e]with himselfe, how he (being Governor of the Militarie Order of Jesus Christ, formerly instituted, and endowed to maintaine Warres against the Mores, alreadie expelled out of Portugall) might advance the honor of his Name and

[e] *See Dam. a Goes de Aethiop. Mor. Barrius, Dec.* 1. *l.* 1. *Osor. de Reb. Eman. l.* 1. *Massæus. Hist. Ind. l.* 1.

Order, in Conquests which others had not yet attempted, and therefore in Discoveries of Countries yet unknowne. To this end he spent his life in single estate, and in the studies of the Mathematikes: for which purpose, he chose the clearer Ayre of Cape S. Vincent, that there he might better intend his Mathematicall Theorie, the practike thereof in Instruments, and the use, in sending out Ships at his owne charge to discover remoter parts, whereof he had both heard by enquirie of Captives taken at Cepta, and conceived by his owne studie and reason (for besides that of Macham, ancient Histories give some light to the studious, in the [f]reports of Menelaus, Hanno, Eudoxus, and others) that the Atlantike and Indian Seas had concourse, the one yeelding passage to the other, or rather being one continued Ocean. He also from Majorca caused one Master James, a man skilfull in Navigation, and in Cards and Sea Instruments, to be brought into Portugall, there at his charge, as it were, to erect a Schoole of Marinership, and to instruct his Countreymen in that Mysterie.

[f] *Vide P. Pilg. l. 7. c. 12. §. 2.*

The first Ships which he sent, discovered no further then Cape Bogiador, 180. miles beyond Cape [g]Non (the Non ultra before, of the Spanish Navigations) beyond which they durst not passe, because of the loftie breaking of the Surge, caused by the Capes extension farre into the Sea: not daring (such was then the infancie of Navigation) to avoid the same, to put further off into the Sea, lest they might hap to lose themselves, if they lost the sight of Land. That which Art durst not, Tempest compelled in the next Barke sent for Discoverie, which with distresse of Weather driven into Seas out of the Mariners knowledge, happily encountred that Iland, which they hereupon named Porto [h]Santo, and without further coasting the shore of Afrike, returned home with the newes, and desire of licence to people it; so well did they like of the Ayre, Soyle, and gentle Condition of the Natives. The Prince accordingly sent three Ships, two of which hee committed to John Consalvo Zarco, and Tristan Vaz, the

[g] *Of which their Proverbe was, He which shall passe the Cape of Non, shall turne againe, or else be gone.*

[h] *Porto, for that it was their Haven: and Santo, for that it was found on the day of All Saints.*

former Discoverers; the third to Bartholomew Perestrello, who with Seeds and Plants carried thither a [i]Conie great with young; which lighting her burthen by the way, and together with them put forth, so multiplyed in two yeeres, that they grew wearie of all their Labours, destroyed by those Conies. Whereupon Perestrello returning, the other two, Consalvo and Vaz would needs discover whether it were Land or no, which appeared unto them like Clouds or Vapours, and found it indeed the Iland [k]Madera, or Wood, so called of the abundance of Wood which then over-shadowed it, and with the moist Vapours had seemed to bury it in a Cloud. They returning with this newes to the Prince, received by the Kings consent the same Iland, divided betwixt them; the one part, called Funciale, to Consalvo and his heires; the other, called * Machico, to Vaz. This was so named of an Englishman, called Macham, which had before arrived[l] there by Tempest, and buried therein a Woman, whom he loved, with a memoriall thereof ingraven on the Stone of her Tombe; after which, with a Boat made of one Tree, he passed to the Coast of Barbary without Sayle or Oare, and being presented to the King for a Wonder, was by him sent to the King of Castile.

Conies strangely multiplied.

[k] *The Iland of Madera or Wood discovered.*

* *Macham an Englishman.*

[l] *Ant. Galvano, An. Do.* 1344.

In the yeere 1420. began that [m]Plantation, and the thicke Trees being by Consalvo set on fire, continued burning seven yeeres: which destruction of Wood hath caused since as great want. The Prince caused Sugar Canes to be carried from Sicilia thither, and men skilfull of that [n]Art, whereof the increase hath beene such, that in some yeeres the fifth part (which the Prince reserved to his Militarie Order) hath amounted to above threescore thousand Arrobes (every Arrobe is five and twentie pounds) growing onely in one place, little more then nine miles compasse. To Perestrello[o] hee gave Porto Santo, on condition to people it, which hardly hee could doe for the Conies, whereof in one little Islet at one time were killed three thousand.

[m] *Bar. Dec.* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

[n] *Madera Sugar.*

[o] *Porto Santo peopled.* [I. ii. 6.]

Twelve yeeres had passed, since the Prince had begun

this Enterprise, before Cape Bajadore could be passed; such was the [p]conceit of tempestuous Seas, strong Currents, Whirle-pooles which would swallow Ships, beyond that Cape: yea they added, that the Land was not fit for habitation, but like the sandie Desarts of Libya. Much did they murmure, that the Natives of the Land were exhaust in Discoveries, which before, wise and provident Kings would have undertaken, had there beene likelyhood of successe; who yet contented themselves with the knowne World, and sought not a torrid Zone, unfit for humane dwelling. These costs might with lesse danger have beene bestowed in the barrenner parts of the Kingdome at home, without Sea-perils.

[p] *Difficulties pretended, to stay the Prince from discovering further.*

These murmurings I recite, as alwayes attending and preoccupating great Actions, and to shew the poore Prentiship which Navigation then served, that it might attaine that Freedome which the next Age brought forth. The patient Prince endured these Exceptions, with quarrellings at the Victualls, Money, and Men spent in a Service so unserviceable and needlesse, so dangerous, so hurtful, and so! what every barking Tongue could alledge; nor could the apparant profits of Madera and Porto Santo stop their mouthes. His men also, which he sent forth, preyed on the Coasts of Barbary, and tooke Slaves, which helpe bare charges.

But one of his servants, named [q]Gilianes, seeing the Prince discontent that they went no further, adventured that Herculean Labour (as it then seemed) and passed that Turneagaine or Bajadore Cape, with some proofe of the Plants, report of the Seas passable, and commendations of the Ayre and Soyle in those parts. This happened An. 1433.

[q] *Bajadore first passed.*

The next yeere Anton. Consalvo pierced fortie miles further, and found the Countrey inhabited. Nor could much more be effected, till the yeere 1441. when Nugno Tristan discovered [r]Cape Blanco, and tooke some Prisoners. After which, Prince Henry obtained [s]of Pope Martin the fifth a perpetuall Donation to the Crowne of

[r] *Cape Blanco.*

[s] *Popes Donation, as security against Foreiners, and an incentive to the vulgar, according to the conceit of those times.*

Portugall, of whatsoever should be discovered from Cape Bajadore to the East Indies inclusively, and Indulgence plenarie for the Soules of all such as should perish in that Conquest: which the succeeding Popes, Eugenius, Nicholas, and Sixtus confirmed, at the instance of King Alphonsus and his sonne John.

1443. At the next [t]returne they traded with the Negros for exchange of their Men, for which they had Gold and other Slaves, whereupon they called the place the Golden River, and passed further to the Isles of Argin and Garze. Gold made a recantation of former Murmurings, and [u]1444. now the Prince was extolled; yea, [u]now the inhabitants of Lagos capitulated with the Prince to set forth Carveiles at their owne charges, which tooke many Captives.

[x]*Sanaga and Cape Verde.* The yeere 1445. Denis Fernandez passed the River[x] Sanaga, which divideth the Azenegui from those of Guinea, called Gialof, and discovered also Cape Verde. Other Discoveries successively followed; in which, some having made slaves of friends, the Prince made the Authors apparrell and send them backe at their owne charges, to the Canaries, whence they had stolne them.

[y]*Canaries. Ant. Galvano. Macham first discoverer of Madera and the Canaries.* These [y]Canaries, by relations of Macham the Englishman aforesaid, became knowne to the French and Spaniards; and Betancor, which held three of them in possession, compounded for them with Prince Henry: but the Spaniard challenged them, as conquered by that Frenchman through the aid of Castile; under which Crowne they now are, after many choppings and changings. But the Prince never gave over his endevours of Discoverie, till he discovered the Celestiall Jerusalem, [z]*Prince Henry his death.* which [z]happened the thirteenth of November, 1463. three and fortie yeeres after Madera had beene descryed: in all which time, his Travell succeeded no further then from Bajadore to Sierra Liona, one thousand one hundred and tenne miles space, in neere fiftie yeeres continued Cares and Costs. So hard a thing is it to discover. An argument of patience to our Moderne Discoverers, which are readie to murmure, and almost to mutinie, if

new Worlds drop not into their mouthes at the first Voyage.

A little before his death, the Ilands of * Cape Verde were discovered by Antonio di Nolle, a Genuois, licensed by the Prince. On May Even was Maio found, and on the next day two others, called also of the Time, one Philip, and the other Jacob, or Jago, which was first peopled. In his time * also were discovered the Terceras, by certaine Flemmings sayling to Lisbone; which first began to be peopled An. 1449.

*Ilands of Cape Verde discovered. Botero d. Isole.

*Terceras discovered, or Azores, or Flemmish Ilands.

King Alphonsus having little leysure for further Discoveries, farmed the same to Fernand Gomez, a Citizen of Lisbone, for five yeeres space, with condition every yeere to discover three hundred miles, to begin from Sierra Liona, and so to proceed along the Coast. He discovered * Mina by Santaren and Scovare his Captaines; and after that, to Cape S. Catarine, on the South side of the Line. In that time was also discovered the Iland of Fernand Po, the Ilands also of S. Thomas, S. Matthew, Annobon, & del Principe; the Names of the Discoverers are unknowne.

*Mina.

§. III. [I. ii. 7.]

Of King John the second his Discoveries, and advancement of the Art of Navigation.

KIng John the second having some experiment of the Profits of Guinea, which King Alphonso had bestowed on him for his Princely maintenance, could not now by the Objections of the length of the Way, unholesomenesse of the Countrey, expence of Victuall, and the like, be detained by his Counsellors; but in the yeere 1481. he sent a Fleet of ten * Caravels, under the command of Diego Dazambuia, to build the Castle of S. George della Mina, which in the yeere 1486. he dignified with the Priviledges of a Citie. In the Church thereof was ordayned a perpetuall Soule-Priest for Prince Henry aforesaid: and three yeeres after that Castle was builded,

*One of the Captaines was an Englishman called Diegoor James Ruiz.

he added to his Regall Title, Lord of Guinea. Caramansa the Lord of the Countrey would have hindered that Building, and the people (which worshipped the Stones and Rockes) mutined; but the Popes Gift, with their Strength, Gifts, Cunning, and some Revenge, prevayled: The King commanded, that Stone Crosses or Pillars, with the Portugall Armes, should be set up in convenient places, expressing the time and Authors of such Discoveries. So did Diego Can 1484. on the Bankes of the River Zaire, in the first Discoverie of the Kingdome of [a]Congo (the King whereof, as also the King of Benin, desired Priests, and Baptisme) and in his next returne two others, having discovered six hundred miles, and in both his Voyages 1125. miles from Cape Catarine, further on the Coast.

Stone Crosses or Pillars erected in places discovered.
[a]Zaire & Congo.

By the Embassador of the King of Benin (which is not farre from Mina) the King of Portugall understood of the [b]Abassine, commonly called Prester John, by them Ogane, whose Vassall the King of Benin then was, none being [c]acknowledged lawfull Prince, till he had sent his Embassadour to the said Ogane, and had received from him a Crosse to weare about his necke, in token of his admission. Hereupon King John sent both [d]by Sea and Land to inquire both of the Indies, and of this great Negus, or Ogane: by Sea, two Pinnaces, of fiftie Tunnes apiece, under the conduct of Bartholomew Diaz, with a little Victualling Barke, in August, 1486. Hee set certaine Negros on shore in divers places, which had beene before carried into Portugall, and well used, that among those Savages they might relate the Portugall Civilitie and Greatnesse; carrying also with them some shewes thereof in Apparrell, and other things given them; and to make knowne, if it were possible, his desire; to find by his Discoveries meanes of acquaintance with Prester John. He gave Names to places discovered, and erected Pillars or Crosses of Stone (as is said) the last in the Ile called hereof, the Crosse; where his people with much disquiet urged his returne, alledging their Victuals spent, and the

[b]Newes from Benin of Presbyter John.
[c]King of Benin tributarie to him.
[d]Enquirie for him by Sea and Land.

losse of their Victualling Barke. Yet after consultation, hee proceeded so farre, that hee first discovered the famous Cape, which for his manifold troubles he termed Cabo Tormentoso, or the tempestuous Cape: but King John hoping thence to discover the Indies, named it at his returne the [e]Cape of Good Hope; where hee placed another Pillar of Stone, called S. Philip; as the other were termed S. George in the River of Zaire, S. Augustine in the Cape thereof so termed, and likewise the rest. He returned in December, 1487. sixteene moneths and seventeene dayes after his setting out, having discovered a thousand and fiftie miles of Coast. He found by the way his Victualler, wherein he had left nine men, of which, three onely were left alive; [f]one of which, Fernand Colazzo, died with sudden joy of this sight nine moneths after the losse of each other.

[e] *Cabo Tormentoso, or of good Hope, first discovered.*

[f] *Death caused by sudden joy. The like happened to an Englishman, left 14. moneths in S. Helena.*

By Land, the King had sent some by the way of Jerusalem to passe with the Abassine Pilgrims; which yet, for want of the Arabick Tongue, returned. Whereupon he sent Peter [g]Covilian, well skilled therein, and with him Alphonso Pajua, in May, 1487. which went to Alexandria, thence to Cairo, and thence with certaine Mores to Aden: from whence Pajua went to seeke a passage to Prester John, but died at Cairo. Covilian from Aden, neere the straits of the red Sea, imbarked himselfe for Cananor, and thence to Calicut and Goa in the East Indies: from whence he returned unto Africa, neere the Mines of Sofala, and after that to Cairo, with purpose of returne into Portugall. But the King had sent by two Spanish Jewes, Rabbi Abraham and R. Joseph, the latter of which had beene at Bagdad, and had acquainted the King with the Trade at Ormus, and from thence had passed to Aleppo and Damasco, and was now sent backe to Covilian, that by the one an answere might be brought what he had done, with charge not to desist, till he had beene with the Abassine, to whom he imployed him in Embassage: the other, to goe to Ormus, and informe himselfe of the Affaires of those parts. By Joseph,

[g] *Peter Covilian first discoverer of Prester John, and of the Indies, & Sofala.*

Covilian wrote to the King, and to encourage his Navigations, sent him a Mappe of his Discoveries in India, and [I. ii. 8.] on the African Coast. Hee pierced after this, to the Court of Alexander the Abassine, who kindly entertained him, but soone after died; neyther would his successors permit that Ulysses to returne, a man of many Languages, and much usefull for his experience in the World: but to *Francis Alvares.* Francis Alvares, which accompanied Roderike de Lima in an Embassage thither almost thirtie yeeres after, hee related the summe of his Travels.

Many other worthy Acts were performed by King John, in seeking to reduce some of these wild people both in Guinea and Congo, to holy Baptisme and Christian Religion, not so pertinent to this our purpose: but this was the furthest of his Discoveries. He had omitted an opportunitie offered by Columbus, whom in his first returne from the Indies with his new Indians, he saw in March, 1493. But Occasions Head in the hinder parts was bald, the Spaniard having before fastned on her forelockes. *Rules of Astronomie first applyed to Navigation.* Yet doth Navigation owe as much to this Prince as to any, who had imployed Roderigo and Joseph, his Jewish Physicians, cunning Mathematicians of that time, with Martin Bohemus the Scholler of John Monte Regius, to devise what helpes they could for the Mariners in their saylings thorow unknowne Seas, where neyther Starres (as unknowne) nor Land (being out of kenne) could guide them. These first, after long study, applyed the *Astrolabe, and Tables of Declinations.* Astrolabe, before used onely by Astronomers, to Marine use, and devised the Tables of Declinations, to find out the Latitude of Places, and how to direct their course (which was afterwards by the knowledge of the Variation, exceedingly furthered) whereby the Mariners Art first began to free it selfe from the rudenesse of former times, and in these Navigations of Canus and Dias, as those also of Columbus, to prepare a Way to open our Eyes in these parts, to see a new World, and there in those, to see a new Heaven by Evangelicall Light, whereof a little misled glimpse they have alreadie; an Earnest (as wee

hope) of more, and more perfect, by Gods grace in due time to be revealed.

§. IIII.

Of the Conjectures touching a New World by Christopher Colon or Columbus, and his manifold Difficulties therein.

AND unto Portugall was Spaine beholden for Columbus, and Columbus also for his skill, whereby the Columbian (so fitlier named, then American) World was discovered. This Columbus or Colombo (by the Spaniards for easier pronunciation termed Colon) was borne, some say, at Sarona, some at Nervi, others in Cicurco, in the territorie of Genua, of an ancient House, of great reputation in the Empire of Otho the second (whose Charters to the Family of the Columbi are yet extant) but now almost antiquated, rotten and ruined with antiquitie. He began to embrace the Sea, and use Navigation in his Childhood, and traded many yeeres into Syria and other parts of the East; and became also a maker of Cards for the Sea. The fame of the Portugall Navigations brought him thither, to learne the Coasts of Africa, and with their skill to amend his Cards, and withall, his fortunes. There he married a Wife, Philippa Mumiz de Perestrello (by whom he had his sonne James) and traded the Coast of Guinea. Some skill, it is manifest, hee had in the Latine Tongue, and was very studious of the Mathematikes, being also in his Religion (according to that knowledge he had) very devout, frequent in Prayer, observant of Fasts, temperate in Diet, modest in Attyre, gravely courteous in Behavior, abstinent of Oathes, and abhominating Blasphemies. Such an one did God make him, before he would make him a Discoverer. And as the Psalmist singeth of Heavenly, it is true also in Earthly Mysteries, The secret of the Lord is with them that feare him, and the meeke he will guide in judgement: Which easily sheweth the cause why no better

Herera Dec. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. *Gomara Hist. Gen. c.* 14. *See Edens Preface to Pet. Mart. Dec.*

Botero Rel. un. parte 4. *l.* 2.

Ps. 25.

successe hath followed some mens endevours, who going forth with high-swolne Sayles, filled with puffes of Pride, and blasts of Arrogance, addicting themselves to Swearing, Cursing, and other resolute Dissolutenesse (as if they sought Discoveries in the infernall Regions, and acquaintance with those Legions of Hell, rather then to discover Lands, and recover Infidels to internall peace by the eternall Gospell) eyther perish at Sea, or returne with the gaine of losse, and shame, in stead of glory. Our Christopher Columbus was such in Deed as in Name, carrying Christ in his heart, and Dove-like lovely carriage in conversation.

He is reported by Gomara, Mariana, and others, to have beene first moved to this Discoverie by a Pilot, which had beene before by distresse of Weather driven upon the Ilands of America, which the most judicious Spaniards either omit or deny; Benzo and Ramusio thinke it a tricke of Spanish envy, derogating from the worth of an Italian. But the reasons more probable, are his piercing Wit, judicious observation of Occurrents, learning in the Mathematikes, and the speciall instinct of Divine Providence, without which no humane patience could have sustained such magnanimous Indevours, so long contemned, so much, so variously condemned. Experience of the Portugals, amongst whom he dwelt, had taught him the vanitie of Antiquitie touching the Antipodes, the Torrid Zone not habitable, and that the Sea was every way Navigable. Art instructed him of the roundnesse of this inferior Globe (which in the Moones Ecclipse is visible) and the proportionablenesse of the Earth to the Water, that as much dry Land might be as well on that, as on this side the Line: neyther was it likely, that so huge a quantitie of the Globe should be covered with Waters, which was made principally for the use and habitation of Man; or that this Globe was not equally poyzed on both sides that Centre, which is one to it and the Water; or that there should be such huge Lands (if they were Lands) in this old Age of the World, not inhabited

HereraDec.1. l. 1. Oviedo l. 2. [I. ii. 9.]

Columbo's grounds for discoverie of the new World.

by Man, whose Blessing from the Creator was to fill or replenish the Earth, renewed againe after the Floud; or that the Indies in the East might not in the Earths Globositie be as readily found out by the West, following the Sunne in his dayly Journey, which with all his Night-watch of Starres was as unlike to be there appointed a continuall course and circular Race for the Seas or Desart Lands. Experiments had also taught him, both by relation of the Portugals in their longer Voyages, and in his owne on the West of Spaine, that the Westerne Winds holding a constant course yeerely, and that also farre off at Sea, could not but arise from some Lands further Westward, then any yet knowne: And Martin Vincent, a Mariner which used the Azores or Terceras, had told him, that he was once carried foure hundred and fiftie leagues to the West of Cape S. Vincent, and there tooke up a piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by mans hand, and that, as farre as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from some Westerne Iland. Pedro Correa, which had married his Wives sister, had likewise signified to him, that at Puerto Santo he had seene the like Peece driven thither by the Westerne Winds, wrought in the same fashion: and besides, he had seene great Canes which in each knot might containe above two gallons of Water, which he also sent to him to see; which being unlikely to grow in the knowne parts of the West, and having read of such growing in India, he supposed, that some long and violent Westerne Winds had brought them thither from thence. The inhabitants also of the Azores had told him, that strong West and Northwest Winds had brought by Sea upon Graciosa and Fayal certaine Pine trees, two dead men also on the Coast of Flores, with larger faces then are usuall in these parts, and of other favor, and two Canoas another time driven also by the Wind. Antonio Leme of Madera had related, that being carried in his Carvile farre Westward, he had seemed to see three Ilands: And another of that Iland had sued to the King of Portugall in the yeere 1484. for licence to

Gen. 1. 28. & 9. 1.

Her. Dec. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

discover certaine Land which he sware he had seene every yeere over-against the Azores. Diego Velazques had fortie yeeres before beene carried farre into the West, and there observed the Seas and Winds such, as if the Land were not farre off, as he affirmed to Columbus: and another Mariner told him of Land hee had seene farre West from Ireland, which is supposed to be New-found-Land. Petro de Velasco had signified the like, in his going for Ireland; and Vincent Diaz, a Portugall Pilot, had seemed to himselfe, in his returne from Guinea, to see an Iland in the height of Madera, for which also search was after made, but no discoverie.

These things argue his laborious industrie and diligent enquirie: his readings of Marco Polo and other Journals (that I mention not the Ancients) did not a little animate him, as may appeare in his enquirie for Zipango, mentioned by Polo, supposed now to be Japan; and naming Hispaniola Ophir, thinking, or seeming to thinke, that he had found out the East Indies. And for that cause was this New World called the Indies also, with distinction of West: and this was his maine argument to such Princes as he sought to patronize this his discoverie, the riches of the East Indies, promised by a Westerne Navigation. And herein his resolution was admirable, that howsoever some derided as folly, others rejected as impossible, his suit, yet he never desisted.

Why America called India.

Hee first propounded it to his Countreymen the Genuois, and found, that a Prophet found no profit at home; he seconded it in Portugall where he dwelt, and was married at Lisbone, and had learned most of his Art and Intelligence, confirmed therein also by Martin Bohemus the Mathematician; but John the second did not second his desires, as adjudged vaine by Roderigo and Joseph the Jewes, before mentioned, with other Committees; which yet moved with his reasons, counselled the King secretly to send a Carvell, under colour of a Voyage, to Cape Verde, to make this Discoverie; wherein crossed with foule Weather, they effected nothing. This

I. di Barros in his Dec. 1. lib. 3. cap. 11. saith, that he was not beleeved at all, and licenced by the King to goe for Castile. But we have followed Herera in the most part of this relation.

made him out of love with Portugall, and to send his brother Bartholomew to King Henry the seventh of England with the same suit: who falling into the hands of Pyrats, was forced to sustaine himselfe with making Sea-Cards, and so long deferred for want of sutable suites, to make his suit and petition to the King, that when it was granted, and his brother sent for, hee had sped before in Spaine. Thither had hee himselfe repaired in the yeere 1484. secretly, and by Sea, for feare of the Portugals, which had before deluded him: Ferdinand and Isabel the Catholike Princes being then busied in Warre against the [I. ii. 10.] Mores of Granada. But having spent five yeeres in pursuing his suit, his answer from the Court was, That the Kings Treasure was so exhaust in the Conquest of Granada, that they could not entertaine new expences: but those being ended, they would better examine his intent, and give him dispatch.

Much was Columbus aggrieved at this answer, yet failed not his constancie. Hee caused his desires to be made knowne to the Dukes of Medina Cœli, and of Medina Sidonia, but with effect like the former. Twice hee purposed (as his sonne Fernand Columbus writeth) to leave Spaine, and goe himselfe into France or England, whence hee had not heard of his brother Bartholomew: but Divine Providence otherwise disposed. And hee which hitherto had not found credit to advance, nay, scarcely meanes, but in great part, by the bountie of Alphonso di Quintaniglia, the Kings chiefe Auditor, to sustaine him, obtained the Letters of Frier Juan Perez de Marchena to Frier Fernando di Talovera the Queenes Confessor, and at last, by the mediation of the Cardinall Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, procured audience and graunt of the Catholike Kings, Queene Isabel taking order with Lewis of S. Angelo to empawne some of her Jewels, to the value of two thousand Duckats for his Expedition, which yet he lent out of his purse: so low was the Treasure of Spaine, when God offered them the Westerne Treasurie.

Magnanimous Columbus, not broken with Povertie at home, with Affronts and Discountenances abroad, with imputations of impotent, almost impudent, at least as imprudent as importunate fancies of impossible, impassable Navigations by unknowne Seas to unknowne Lands! not amated so farre, as to abate his Conditions of no small nature to him and his heires, as if he had alreadie effected his designes: not desiring any reward, except he found somewhat answerable to his promise, nor lesse then, than the Office and Title of Admirall by Sea, and Vice-Roy on Land, with the Tenth of the Profits thorow all the Seas, Ilands, or firme Lands (to himselfe during his life, and after, to his heires and successors) whatsoever he should discover: which (saith Oviedo) he enjoyed whiles he lived, his sonne Admirall, James or Don Diego Colombo, after him, and his nephew Don Lewis Colombo the Admirall at this day. This composition was made betwixt him and the Catholike Kings in the Field before Granada, then besieged, in the middest of the Armie, the seventeenth of April, 1492. as if God would reward their endevours and expences, in rooting out the Mores, which had possessed those parts of Spaine above seven hundred yeeres, with this New Discoverie, so profitable to the Spanish Crowne.

Ovied. Hist. del Ind. l. 2. c. 5. Herera Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 10.

§. V.

Columbus his first Voyage, and improvement therein of the Mariners Art.

ON Friday, the third of August, the same yeere, hee set forth with his three Caravels from Palos; himselfe in the Admirall, called * Santa Maria; the second Pinta, in which was Captaine Martin Alonso Pinzon, and his brother Francisco Martinez Pinzon, Master; the third Ninna, whose Captaine and Master was Vincent Yannez Pinzon, which found halfe that eighth part of the expence which Colombo had covenanted to contribute. There were in all (some say) an hundred and

** Oviedo hath Gallega.*

Mart. Dec. & Oviedo.

QVI RATE VELIVOLA OCCIDVOS PENETRAVIT AD TIDOS
PRIMVS ET AMERICAM NOBILITAVIT HVMVM

ASTRORVM CONSVLT ET IPSO NOBILIS AVSV
CHRISTOPHOR' TALI FRONTE COLVMB' ERAT

twenty men; Herera hath but ninety. On the fourth of August, the Rudder of the Pinta proved loose, which they fastened as well as they could with Cords, but soone after with force of Wind brake, and they were all compelled to strike sayle; which, in such a Voyage as this (they knew not whither) could not but be troublesome, and seeme also ominous. On the eleventh of August they had sight of the Canaries; where having refreshed themselves in the Ile Gomera, they hasted thence the sixt of September, for feare of the Portugals, who had set forth three Carvels to take them. The seventh they lost sight of Land, with sighes and teares, many of them fearing never to see it againe; whom Don Christopher comforted as well as he could, with promises of rich Discoveries: and sayling that day *eighteene leagues, he reckoned no more then fifteene, diminishing his accompt, to make them seeme neerer home. On the foureteenth of September he first observed the Variation of the Compas, which no man till then had considered, which every day appeared more evident. On Sunday, the sixteenth, they saw pieces of * Grasse, or Herbes, on the Water, of a pale greene colour, and on one of them a Grasse-hopper alive, and some signes of Land approching, made some beleeve they had seene it. On the nineteenth they saw an Alcatraz (a kind of Sea-Fowle) and the next day two, which with other Grasse every day encreasing, encreased their hopes of Land, save that the Grasse sometimes hindered their sayling.

*When he had runne above 700. he reckoned lesse then 600. nor their Pilots much more deceived by the wind alway large.

*This Grasse they call Salgazzi, or Saragasso, floting in divers places this and that way, which at first terrified them, as if they had encountred sunken Lands.

All this while he had the Wind in poupe, which on the two and twentieth of September came crosse at South-west; and the Spaniards murmured, that the former Winds, which had been large to bring them hither, would never permit their returne to Spaine, and now began to blame the King and Queene, which had listned to that bold Italian, resolving to pursue the Voyage no further (the Admirall using all his Wits to the contrarie in vaine, mixing with Promises and Prayers, Threats and Menaces) alledging, That he thought to make himselfe a great Lord

[I. ii. 11.]

with the price of their lives; and that they had alreadie done their dutie, sayling further from Land then ever any had: nor ought they to be guiltie of their owne deaths, proceeding they knew not whither, till Victuals fayled them, which alreadie would scarcely hold out their returne, nor yet the Carvels, being alreadie spent, and faultie, with other like quarrels: threatning to throw him into the Sea, if he would not returne; and if hee were so desperate to perish, they would save themselves. Colombo sweetly calmed those tempests with gentle words and rich promises, and (as is thought, before agreed upon) talking with Vincent Pinzon, suddenly cryed, Land, Land, on the five and twentieth of September, which filled them with cheare and hope, which yet proved but Clouds: and therefore howsoever the mutinous tempest was for a time stilled, yet on the second of October that storme revived with such force, that hee having prolonged as farre as hee might, with likelier signes dayly of Land, at last he indented with them for three dayes. This they promised to trie, but not one houre longer; saying, all were Lyes which he had promised. The first of these dayes he perceived by the Sunne-set, that Land was neere, and commanded, that they should abate their Sayles in the Night; in which Night hee spyed Light.

Rod. de Triana first saw Land.

Two houres after Midnight, Rodrigo de Triana descryed Land on the eleventh of October, 1492. which when it was day, they saw to be an Iland of fifteene leagues compasse, plaine and woodie, with a great Poole of fresh Water, the naked people wondring on the shore, thinking their Shippes were living Creatures. They went on Land, and termed it San Salvador, by the Inhabitants called Guanahani, one of the Iles Lucayos, nine hundred and fiftie leagues from the Canaries, and having said a Te Deum on his knees, with teares in his eyes, Colombo tooke possession in name of the Catholike Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, in presence of Rodrigo de Escovedo, Notarie; the Spaniards also acknowledging him for Vice-Roy. The people wondred at the Beards, Whitenesse,

Guanahani, or San Salvador.

Clothing of the Spaniards, who gave them coloured Caps, Glasse-beads, and other Toyes. And when they departed, the naked Natives followed, some in Canoas, others swimming after them. They were all naked, their haire bound up, their stature meane, bodies well formed, colour like those of the Canaries, Olive, painted some blacke, others of other colours, in part, or all over the body, as each best fancied. They knew not the use of Iron, or Weapons, but layd their hands on the edge of the Sword. They saw no living Creatures but Parrats among them. They trucked for Cotton Yarne, and had Rings of Gold in their Nosethrils, which they said that it came from the South, where they had a King rich therein. They tooke the Spaniards to be men come from Heaven.

A Conoa is a boat made of one tree, which they wrought into that forme with sharpe stones, & helpe of fire: some caried but one, & some above 40. or 50. men in them.

On the fifteenth of October he went seven leagues thence to another Iland (which he called Santa Maria de la Concecion) the seventeenth, to Fernandina, where the Women, with Cotton short Coates, from the Navill to the mid Thigh, covered their nakednesse. The fourth Iland he called Isabella, and thereof (as of all the former) tooke solemn possession. He would not suffer any of his companie to take ought from the Natives in any place. Thence he passed to Cuba, and went on Land, thinking it to be Zipango; and some Indians which he carried with him, signified, that there was Gold and Pearles. He sent two Spaniards with two Indians, to search the Countrey, which found a Towne of fiftie houses of about a thousand persons (for a whole Kindred or Linage dwelt together in one house) where the people kissed their hands and feet, thinking them heavenly Wights, gave them Bread of a Root, and perfumed them with certaine Herbes burned. They saw store of Cotton growing of it selfe, and strange kinds of Birds and Trees. The Spaniards had most mind to the Gold which they saw in their Noses, of which they questioned these Indians, who answered Cubanacan, that is in the midst of Cuba, which the Spaniards understood of the Can of Cathay, mentioned by Marco Polo. In hope of singular successe; Martin

S. Maria de la Conception. Fernandina.

Isabella.

Cuba.

Alonso Pinzon left the Admirall, who also left Cuba, which he called Juana, in honour of the Prince of Castile, to seeke that Iland which he named Hispaniola, before Hayti. For having demanded of Zipango in Cuba, the Indians thinking hee had meant Cibao, which is one of the richest Mines of Hispaniola, directed him thither. Here giving a Woman which they tooke, Meat, Drinke, and Clothes, he sent with her some of his Indians, which reported much good of the Spaniards, whence grew much acquaintance betwixt them, and after, with their King Guacanagari, which entreated Colombo to come aland.

A Fort. Here he lost his principall Ship, and erected a Fort, called the Nativitie, and understood of the Golden Provinces of this Iland: and having good remonstrance of his Golden Hopes and Haps also, in exchange for Trifles, with some Indians taken with him, leaving eight and thirtie Spaniards in his new Fort, after reconciliation with Pinzon (the Indians, which carried the Admirals Letter to him, attributed their mutuall understanding to some Deitie therein) he prepared for his returne.

Before this, he charged them to behave themselves with all due respects to Guacanagari, and to his Indians, without wrong to any: and on Friday, the fourth of January, in the yeere 1493. (after their account) sayled

Three Mermaids. from the Port of Nativitie. He saw three Mermaids leaping a good height out of the Sea, Creatures (as hee affirmed) not so faire as they are painted, somewhat

[I. ii. 12.] resembling Men in the face, of which at other times he said he had seene on the Coast of Guinea. In his returne, he discovered a great part of the Coast of Hispaniola, and gave Names to Capes and Harbours. In this Voyage, Colombo is said first to have taught the Spaniards, in their sayling, to observe the Sunne and Pole in their Navigations, which they before knew not. Observing by his skill in Astronomie, that the Moone being in conjunction with Mercury, and opposition with Jupiter, and the Sunne also in like opposition, to produce great Windes, hee made some stay, and had new commerce

with other Indians, where accidentally happened the first quarrell and skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Natives. But soone after their King sent them his Crowne of Gold, and much Victuall, and gave them further intelligence. From this Gulfe de las Flechas, or of Arrowes, on Wednesday the seventeenth of Januarie, hee departed, and made homewards: in which it is observed, that as in their way to the Indies, having the Wind large, they reckoned farre fewer leagues then they sayled, so in their returne they accounted more, the Admirals reckoning being a hundred and fiftie lesse then theirs.

Pilgrimages vowed.

A tedious Tempest befell them in Februarie: wherein other remedies seeming to fayle, they vowed Pilgrimages to our Lady by Lot; the first fell on the Admirall himselfe, to Guadalupe; the second to Loretto, on Pedro de Villa; and a third Vow was common to all, that they should at the first Church of our Lady they came to, make Procession in their shirts, with other like devoted Devotions.

Ps. 107. 24, 25,26,27,28, 29, 30, 31.

How unlike was this to that of the Psalmist, in like stormes happening to them that see the Wonders of the Lord in the Deepe. For the Lord commandeth and rayseth the stormie Wind, which lifteth up the Waves thereof. They mount up to the Heaven, they goe downe againe to the Depths, their Soule is melted because of trouble. They reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the Storme a Calme, so that the Waves thereof are still. Then are they glad, because they be quiet. So he bringeth them unto their desired Haven. O that men would prayse the Lord (not goe on Pilgrimage to our Lady) for his goodnesse and for his wonderfull workes to the children of men, &c.

Providence, lest the Voyage should miscarry.

The Psalmist in like case is to distressed Mariners a better Admirall then Colombo, whose devotion herein fayled in the Object. Yet his diligence and wisedome in this is to be commended, that fearing shipwracke, lest this

famous Discoverie might also be lost, he writ the whole Discourse in Parchment, and folding it in a Seare-cloth, he put it in a Barrell or Hogs-head, which he threw into the Sea.

But on the fifteenth of February they saw Land, being S. Maries Iland, one of the Azores; where going on shore to fulfill their vowed Pilgrimage, the Governour came upon them, and after many words told them, that hee had order from the King of Portugall to take them. But making an escape, another Storme tooke them, and caused another Pilgrimage to be vowed to our Lady of Cinta, the Lot falling on the Admirall: And thus was he forced to Lisbone; where, after much contesting with the Portugals, the King sent for him, being now much grieved for omitting such an opportunitie; yet used him kindly, although there were that offered to kill Colombo, before hee should carry newes of this Discoverie to Spaine; the rather, for his boldnesse, objecting to the King his neglect. But the gentle King reproved these cruell Gentlemen, and after kind usage, licenced him to depart.

Bar. Dec. 1. *l.* 3. *c.* 11.

True it is, that the Portugall Nation have in their Bookes and Writings sought to obscure this Exploit of Columbus, attributing it rather to a Dreame of Zipango out of Marco Polo, and his confident glorious nature, seconded by successe unlooked for (for which as idle imaginations, their King had refused his offer) then any such excellencie as the Castilian Writers ascribe to him.

Envy.

But Envy is the darke shadow, that alwayes followes him at the heeles, which walkes in the bright Sunne-light of Vertue and high Attempts. Even the Spaniards themselves, not only by the tale of the Pilot before mentioned, but by light esteeme of his worth have shewed a contemptible contempt of him: some of whom objecting to himselfe the easinesse of this Discoverie, as he sate at Table, he prayed to make an Egge, which then he gave them, to stand on end; which when they could not, hee bruising the shell, and making the end flat, made it to stand thereon: thereby insinuating, how easie it was for

them to doe that which they had seene and learned of him.

Yea, the Pinzons, his chiefe Associates, by like spirit of proud Envy, maligned him; one of which had, after the Islands discovered, forsaken him, as yee have heard: which hee was forced to dissemble, and be reconciled, the most of his companie being of kinne to the Pinzons, or at lest inhabitants of Palos with them. They also entred suit with Colombo, and arrogated to their owne valour this Discoverie, which Columbus would (after so many dayes not finding Land) have forsaken, but was proceeded in by their resolution. And in his third Voyage 1494. Roldanus Ximenius raysed a Rebellion in those parts, and effected, that Bovadilla was sent Governour into Hispaniola, who sent the Admirall, with his Brother, Prisoners all the way, of his long discoverie into Spaine, for which he had so adventured. These Iron Chaynes could cold Envy, for so much Gold, for such a World, render unto that Worthy of Men. But the Catholike Kings of higher Spirits (for Envy, the first sinne we read of in the Devill, and which made him a Devill, as Tertullian and Cyprian in their Tractates of Patience have observed, the first also in the first-borne Man, which made him an incarnate Devill and Murtherer, is but the sinke and settled Dregs of Basenesse, which wanting proper worth, malignes it to others) these much honoured Columbus, as well they might, and confirmed his Priviledges anew, besides many speciall graces done him, as did also the Cardinall of Spaine, and still is done by their ingenuous Writers, Oviedo, Herera, and others.

[I. ii. 13.] *Impatientiæ natales ab ipso Diab. deprehendo. Diabolus jam tum cùm Deus universa opera homini subjecisset, impatienter tulit. Nec enim doluisset si sustinuisset, nec invidisset si non doluisset. Tert. de patientia.*

This Storie at large I have set downe, that Discoverers may by this example learne to digest greater Stormes at home, then the boysterous Elements in their tempestuous Conspiracie yeeld them; and to know, that Pusillanimitie and Impatience are the unfittest Attempters in the World. The Spaniards other Discoveries in the American parts (for so were they called of Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who accompanied Colombo in his first Voyage, and

after discovered a greater part of the Continent then the Admirall had, as Cabota in that did more then they both) I list not to pursue; easie it is to know, that Gold bartered for Glasse, Beads, Needles, and other Toyes, would be strongly active, and strangely attractive to new Discoveries. Dimidium facti qui bene cæpit, habet. Cortes his Conquest of Mexico, and Pizarro his Peru were not comparable to their Masters Master-Peece, who found the New World, to find them worke. Before Colombo went his second Voyage, he left a Card, contayning the description of the whole Navigation and Discoverie, in Spaine with the Kings, and his sonnes, Pages to the Prince.

Cyp. de bono pat. Diabolus hominem ad imaginem Dei factum impatienter tulit, inde & periit. primus & perdidit.

§. VI.

Of the Popes Bull made to Castile, touching the New World.

THe Catholike Kings, presently after that first Discoverie, gave accompt thereof to the Pope, which then was Alexander the sixt (before named Borgia, a Spaniard of Valentia) by his Embassadour, and desired his favour for the Crowne of Castile and Lions, in the Grant of those New Discoveries, made or to be made: For long since had the Pope challenged Christs right over the Christian World. Adrian the fourth, in his Letters of Ireland to King Henry the second affirmeth, That all Ilands under the Sunne, of righteousnesse belong to Papall disposition. This second Alexander, in Gods right, claymes all the World: & in ordine ad Deum, for the conversion (forsooth) to the Faith, the temporall Estates of the whole World are by his Parasites usually put under that triple Diademe. So they thought, or so would seeme to thinke, in regard of Papall Grants before to the Crowne of Portugall (whence was like to arise some grievance and impediment to their Affaires, as pretending a Monopoly, by former Dispensation in Indian Discoveries) and therefore sought this favour of that Monster

of Men, then sitting in that Chayre. This Bull, because it is not common, I have here transcribed.

Exemplar Bullæ seu Donationis, Autoritate cujus, Episcopus Romanus Alexander ejus nominis sextus, concessit & donavit Castellæ Regibus & suis successoribus, Regiones & Insulas Novi Orbis.

Hanc Bullam habet Lopez de Gomara, in hist. gen. parte 2. c. 19. & R. Eden.

ALexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, & Charissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, & Granatæ, illustribus, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Inter cætera Divinæ Majestati beneplacita opera & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit ut fides Catholica & Christiana, Religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur ac ubilibet amplietur ac dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbaræ Nationes deprimantur & ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc sacram Petri Sedem Divina favente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) evocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges & Principes: quales semper fuisse novimus, & à vobis præclare gesta, toti penæ Orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio, & diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc jam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granatæ à Tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria facta, testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac favorabiliter concedere per quæ hujusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortali Deo acceptum propositum, indies ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem & Imperii Christiani propagationem, prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quòd vos qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas Insulas [I. ii. 14.]

& Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas, quærere & invenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione & recuperatione ipsius Regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujusmodi sanctum & laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis. Sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium Christophorum Colonum, virum, utique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navigiis & hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expensis destinastis ut Terras firmas & Insulas remotas & incognitas, hujusmodi per Mare ubi hactenus Navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Navigantes) certas Insulas remotissimas, & etiam Terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viventes, & (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant: Et ut præfati Nuncii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in Insulis, & terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum & bonis moribus imbuendum, satis apti videntur: Spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Terris & Insulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus Christophorus in una ex principalibus Insulis prædictis, jam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos qui secum inerant in custodiam, & ut alias Insulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent posuit, construi & ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis & terris jam repértis, Aurum, Aromata, & aliæ quam plurimæ res præciosæ diversi generis & diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter, & præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ

Regum, Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas & Habitatores, vobis Divina favente clementia subjicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos itaque hujusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, & ipsum nomen salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per sacri lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, ut per viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino prosequi & assumere prona mente Orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujusmodi Insulis & Terris degentes, ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros fœliciter prosequetur. Et ut tanti Negotii Provinciam Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius & audacius assumatis; motu proprio non ad vestram vel alterius, pro vobis super hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate, & ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, scilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet Meridiem, sive Terræ firmæ & Insulæ inventæ, & inveniendæ sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis, versus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Insulæ & Terræ firmæ repertæ & reperiendæ, detectæ & detegendæ à præfata linea versus Occidentem & Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ usque ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime præteritum, à quo incipit Annus præsens Millessimus quadringentessimus nonogessimus tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuncios & Capitaneos [I. ii. 15.]

vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum Insularum, Autoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominiis, Civitatibus, Castris, Locis, & Villis, juribusque & jurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis vobis, hæredibusque, & successoribus vestris (Castellæ & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore præsentium donamus, concedimus, & assignamus: Vosque, & hæredes, ac successores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda potestate, autoritate, & jurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, & deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus, per hujusmodi donationem, concessionem, & assignationem nostram, nulli Christiano Principi, qui actualiter præfatas Insulas & Terras firmas possederit usque ad prædictum diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi jus quæsitum, sublatum intelligi posse, aut auferri debere.

Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ (ut sicut pollicemini & non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione & Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos ad instruendum Incolas & habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes. Ac quibuscunque personis, cujuscunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna quam eo ipso, si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo lineam à Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, sive Terræ firmæ & Insulæ inventæ & inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut vērsus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem ut præfertur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia causa accedere præsumat,

absque vestra ac hæredum & successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali: Non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisque quibuscunque: in illo in quo Imperia & Dominationes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si hujusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum fœlicitate & gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores & conatus exitum fœlicissimum consequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transsumptis manu publici Notarii indi rogati subscriptis, & sigillo alicujus personæ in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur si essent adhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei auso temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1493. quarto nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri, anno primo.

The same Englished.

This was Englished and published by R. Eden, 1577.

ALexander Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in Christ, King Ferdinando, and to our deare beloved Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Arragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Divine Majestie, and according to our hearts desire, this certainely

is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christian
[I. ii. 16.] Religion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the favour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee have ever knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts have declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you have spared no Travailes, Charges, or Perils, adventuring even the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endevours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieved in recovering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainely declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will favourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more fervent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your devout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firme Lands, farre remote and unknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholike Faith, you have hitherto beene much occupied in the expugnation and recoverie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Neverthelesse, as it hath pleased Almightie God, the foresaid Kingdome being recovered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you have, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges, appointed our wel beloved Sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished

with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote, and hitherto unknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, have found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other: in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabite, living peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can conjecture, the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleeve that there is one God, Creator in Heaven, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Wee are further advertised, that the fore-named Christopher hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet unknowne. Wee also understand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with divers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoveth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you have determined, by the favour of Almightie God, to subject unto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are

bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred [I. ii. 17.] with any Perils, conceiving firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will give good successe to your godly Attempts. And that being authorised by the Priviledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fulnesse of Apostolicall power, doe give, grant, and assigne to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as have not actually beene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, untill the day of the Nativitie of our Lord Jesu Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soever any such shall bee found by your Messengers and Captaines, wee by the Authoritie of Almightie God, graunted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which wee beare on the Earth, doe for ever, by the tenour of these presents, give, grant, assigne, unto you,

your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Jurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Jurisdiction: Decreeing nevertheless by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignation, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, unto the day of the Nativitie of our Lord beforesaid, their Right obtained, to be understood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy Obedience (as you have promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and

all good things doe proceede: Trusting, that Almightie God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Travailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale [I. ii. 18.] of any person constitute in Ecclesiasticall Dignitie, or such as are authorized by the Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be given thereunto in Judgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoever infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, let him know, that hee shall thereby incurre the Indignation of Almightie God, and his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of the Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome.

Animadversions on the said Bull of Pope Alexander.

ALthough some deny libertie of Examination and Censure to Historians, but will have them leave all to the Judgement of the Readers, to conclude what their owne Judgements shall gather out of Historicall Premisses: [a] *Seneca.* Yet because wee write [a] vitæ non Scholæ, and Historie [b] *Cicero.* is not [b] onely vita Memoriæ, but Magistra vitæ, is the Schoole of Divine Providence, wherein by Example is

alway read that Rule, Discite justitiam monti; let me have like leave as almost all Historians, Divine, Ecclesiasticall, and Humane, have with thankes also obtained: And let the severer Criticke call it a Digression, or Parenthesis, or what he pleaseth, so it may profit the feebler feet of such as may stumble hereat, and confirme the firmer and more resolved: Difficile est Satyram non scribere. It is almost necessarie in this Treatise of Navigations (most of which are, or seeme thereby inhibited) not to suffer this Bull (as Butcherly in sequele, as those the Statute includeth) to passe unbaited.

It was now the time that the Antichristian Kingdome was growne to the height, and began to sinke under the weight of it selfe, and the Prophecies of the Churches Restauration and Reformation began to ripen and hasten to the Birth, when this [c]Borgia ascended the Papall Throne, stiling himselfe Alexander, a Name ominous to the World, to the Church, and to themselves; in some, to some of them; in this (the totall summe of Mischiefe) to all. This appeared in that Great Macedonian, who was called [d]Fœlix terrarum prædo; and to whom a [e]Pyrate, charged with Sea-rovings, objected his greater World-rovings and robbings, this onely differing, that the one did little with his little Ship, and therefore was called a Theefe, the other doing great harme with his great Army, was surnamed Great: who after his great Conquests, and greater ambition of Deitie, with a little Poyson was confined to his little Earth, a few Feet, a few handfuls of Dust; leaving the Ptolemeys and Seleucida, which succeeded in part of his State, to exceed in crueltie to the Church.

[c] *He was before called Rodericus Borgia, a Spaniard of Valentia.*

[d] *Lucan.*

[e] *Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 4. Quid tibi ut Orbem terrarum? sed quia id ego exiguo facio navigio, latro vocor, quia tu magna classe, imperator.*

To the Christian Church, such have beene the Popes that have named themselves Alexanders. Thus Alexander the second (the first that assumed that Name, rejecting Anselmus, which in his Baptisme hee had received) brought forth a Schisme with his Papacie, proceeded like an Alexander in Warres, and died in Prison (as some thinke of Poyson) to give place to [f]Hildebrand,

[f] *Ben. Card. Bal. &c. vid. script. vit. Pontif. de hec & seq. PP.*

the true Scanderbeg of the Papacie. The next Alexander was procreated in [g]Schisme, betrayed Frederike the Emperour to the Soldan, sending him his Picture to that end, and after degenerating from the Macedonian Alexanders Humanitie, trode on his Necke in the Temple of S. Marke at Venice, and prophaned Scripture, super aspidem &c. to that Diabolicall Designe; first made the Law of Canonization, and then with devout Bernard canonized T. Becket[h] (an Angell of Light, and of Darkenesse yoaked together, this being murthered or martyred in the Devils Quarrell) had at once (beyond all Alexanders Pompe) the Kings of England[i] and France attending on foot, and holding his Bridle. The next Alexander began with Excommunications, Persecutions, Warres against Manfrede King of Sicilia, which to maintaine, hee used Extortions and Exactions, such as had never beene heard of, [k]the Cry whereof ascended to God, the Lord of Revenge, that the Bishop of London protested he would rather loose his head, the Bishop of Yorke writ to him, to feede, not to shere, to flay, to eviscerate, to devoure the Sheepe like a hungry Wolfe, as Matthew Paris, who then lived, recordeth. The Tenth which was granted for the Holy Land, and the prizes of Absolution for Homicide, Treason, Sodomie, Witchcraft, Perjurie, and all Crimes, he thus imployed; and after that publike Pestilence of the Decretales published, he died of Thought, Event not seconding his Alexander-like Designes. The fifth Alexander[l] was produced in the greatest Schisme that ever befell the Papacie; he deposed Ladislaus King of Naples, and gave that Scepter to Lewis the Duke of Anjou; as also the Kingdome of the Romans, from Rupertus to Wenceslaus; guided in all things by Balthasar, full of fiercenesse and secularitie; hee died of Poyson, given him by his Physician, at the procurement of Balthasar his

[g] *This History hath many Testimonies of their owne Authors: see it maintained against Baron. by Morn. Myst. Iniq. pag.* 323. *in Fol. Vid. Sim. Schard ex vita F. Germ. scripta.*

[h] *He maintained the Popes power against the King, and the Clergies immunitie (which had committed above a hundred Murthers, as Neubrig. l.* 2. *then living, testifieth) from the King, and justly therefore by Divine Providence (though with humane Injustice) was murthered himselfe.* [I. ii. 19.]

[i] *King Henry the second held the Bridle to the Popes Legate twice, and suffered many stripes on his naked flesh with Roddes.* [k] *Etsi illa Curia fideles Christi multoties excruciaverit, numquam tamen tam lethaliter sauciavit, &c. Mat. Par.* 1255. [l] *See Theod. de Niem, which lived with him, his three last Chapters of the third book.*

successor, leaving a yeere of Pestilence and Famine to infest the World.

But this sixt Alexander was Heire of all their Vices: who having procreated many Bastards, procured the Papacie[m] by Simonie (some adde, Diabolicall *Contracts) to advance them and himselfe, with unjust Justice miserably plaguing those Simoniacall [n]Cardinals, which for Price and Promise had exalted this Plague-sore into that Chayre of Pestilence, where hee acted the Monster of Men, or was indeed rather an incarnate Devill. Bellarmine [o] himselfe (a man not of the tenderest Forhead) blusheth at his Name, though ashamed of that shame, hee returnes with greater impudence, and from the immanitie of this and some other Popes, would have us more admire the stedfastnesse of that Romish Rocke, which hath sustained such portentuous Beasts, as an argument of Divine Providence, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevaile (and what else but Vices, are the Gates of Hell!) against it. In vaine doe we Heretikes labour to set forth the Vices of some Popes, which themselves confesse, but so, that the glory of that See is thereby exceedingly amplified. Egregiam vero laudem! An exceeding amplification of Bellarmine his Wit! [p]Onuphrius, Jovius, Guicciardine, Volaterrane, and others of their owne seeme amazed at this mans Monstrositie, though Vices be no rarities in Popes, and of the ordinarie ones, one [q]sayth, that he is accounted a good Pope (not whose Vertues equall his Vices, and hold some counterpoyse, as Comminæus of a Prince, but) whose Wickednesse doth not exceed that of other men. To omit the Deluges of Waters, of Famine, Plague, Warres, which overflowed the Citie and all Italy in his times, Rome was by the impunitie of Assassinates made a very * Butcherie; within it, no going by Night;

[m] *Whence those Verses, Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Christum, Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

[n] *See Onuph. in vit. Al. 6.*

[o] *Bel. de R. Pont. in præfat.*

[p] *Onuph. in vit. Al. 6. Pontifex in eam totus incubuit curam ut ingentes filio opes vel summa cum omnium injuria pararet. And, Inopiæ, metu rapax atque ingenio immani fævus,*

opulentiss. quemque in Aula Sacerdotem & in his Cardinales Aliquot cæteris ditiores, veneno tollendos constituit.—Homo ad Italiæ exitium natus &c. So Guic. l. 1. non sincerita, non fede, non religione avaritia insatiable crudelta piuche barbara & ardentiss. cupidita di essaltare in qualunque modo ei figlivoli iquali erano molti. Vid. Iou. Volat. &c. [q] *Guic. l. 16. Ne nostri corrotti costumi è laudata la bonta del Pontefice quando non trapassa la malignità de gli altri huomini.* **Volat. Roma Nobilis jam carnificina facta.*

nor without, by Day. And for his personall Vertues, Theologicall and Cardinall, his Love was unnaturall Lust, to his Daughter, and for his Sonnes; his Faith, perfidie to all which trusted him: Gemes the Turkish Emperors Brother, for Turkish[r] Gold hee betrayed, and with a white sweet lingring Poyson, mixed with his Wine, murthered; his reconciled Enemies he fraudulently betrayed to massacre; to his Guests invited to his Table, hee gave poysoned Potions, in exchange of their great Riches (in one of which Banquets, himselfe at unawares, by a mistaken Cup, was payd in his owne Coyne, the Sonne also pledging the Father; but to the Worlds greater scourge, by the benefit of Youth and Physicke, recovering.) His Hope was to make his Sonne Cæsar Borgia (which had slaine his Brother, and is said to communicate with his Father in his * Sisters Bed) the Cæsar of the Churches State or Patrimonie. His Fortitude was daring to any Mischiefe; in Prudence, he was not wise as a Serpent, to prevent, but a wise Serpent to invent Evill. With his Temperance I will not further distemper your patience; but consider his Justice in this Donation, of he knew not whom, to he knew not what Miserie.

[r] 200000 *Ducats, & Christs seamelesse Coat. Jou. Hist. l. 2.*

* *Pontanus of Lucretia, the Popes daughter, Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

And if it seeme impertinent to have said so much of the Person, let such know, that I have done it to shew, that here was Dignum olla operculum, Lips sutable to the Lettuce, and amongst all the Popes of later times, the Devill (which is a Murtherer from the beginning) could not have found a fitter Vicar, whether wee regard the bloudie Executions and Depopulations that ensued, wherein both Alexander the Macedon, and Alexanders Popes, and if there be any Alexander Devils, are by the event of this Bull surmounted all; or whether that the Devill, foreseeing by the Prophecies of Babylons Fall (confirmed also with the [s]Fall of the Angell in this Popes time from the top of S. Angelo) that his Kingdome would soone decline, raysed up this Alexander to be another Alexander, a Conqueror of another World, by his Spirituall Weapons, under a seeming Conversion to Christianitie,

[s] *Volater. & Bal.*

to make a [t]Conversion (of another Ciceronian Etimologie) a sweeping of a World of Men out of the World together, and wiping [u]them as a man wipeth a Dish, wiping it and turning it upside downe; this first, and in the remainders a Conversion to such a Christianitie, as should make them [x]two-fold more the Children of Hell, which is by themselves [y]testified of the Indians: Or whether the Pope, his Vicar, as honest as that [z]Steward in the Gospell, fearing to be cast out of this Europæan Stewardship, bethought him, by giving so great a part of the World, whereof his Master is called [a]the God, to procure entertainment somewhere else, and thereupon was so liberall of the Devils peculiar, this Ethnike World: Or that in the decay of the Spirituall Power, that Genius of the Papacie sought to supply it with Temporall (whereof the Christian Kings are more jealous) and therefore hath new forged the Keyes into a Sword, that what his Keyes could not unlocke (nay, had nothing to doe with, as being no part of the House, like the first Alexander in the Gordian Knot) his Sword might chop in sunder, and give the one halfe to one, and the other halfe to another. Once, the Sword hath made way to the Keyes in those parts, and made the Farme of the Popes Pardons a good Revenue.

I question not the Right of the Spanish Crowne in those parts: Quis me constituit judicem? It is the fault I find in this great Ardelio. The Castilian Industry I honour (as appeares in the former Relations) their Right, may, for that which is actually in their Possession, without this Bull, plead Discoverie even before this was written, the Sword, Prescription, subjection of the Inhabitants, long and quiet Possession; which, howsoever the [b]Case was at first (wherewith I meddle not) must now, after so long Succession, be acknowledged Just. I quarrell the Pope onely, and the Clayme of that See, herein truly Catholike, or Universall, challenging even in the Devils [c]Stile, Omnia Regna Orbis Terræ, and, Potestatem hanc universam & gloriam illorum, quia mihi tradita sunt, &

[t] *Conversio à converrendo. Cic. in Ver. ac. 4. O verrea præclara. Etenim quam tu Domum, quam Urbem adjisti, quod fanum denique, quod non euersum atque extersum reliqueris?*

[u] *2. Reg. 21. 13.*

[x] *Mat. 23.*

[y] *See the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage, lib. 9. [I. ii. 20.]*

[z] *Lu. 16.*

[a] *2. Cor. 4. 4.*

[b] *Bar. Ius Regis. l. 3. c. 3. at possessio malæ fidei non procedit? hercle non in primo possessore nec in hærede proximo aut necessario, sed legitimè in posteris & valide &c. licite suff. ad continuat. dominii non ad inchoationem.*

[c] Πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης. *Iu. 4. 5. hoc*

ille titulo & jure Oecumenicus Papa.

cui volo, do illa. Hee as the Devils Vicar (cui tradita sunt, who by Tradition challengeth a Right to them, and by Tradition, that is, Treason, disturbes Right and Rites in them) doth Tradere, betray the Rights of them, by Sentences, Censures, and I know not what Bulls. True it is, that the Catholike Kings had other reasons to aske this furtherance from the Pope, in regard of the Portugall, which had obtained former Bulls (as is before related; as [d] Neptune with the Ethnikes, so Navigation with these, is propitiated with Bulls) and challenged a Monopoly of Discoverie; in regard of other Princes, to whom the Popes Censures (as Thunder in a darke Night) were in those times terrible, especially in a Case otherwise just, where they had made Discoverie, and taken and continued Possession before all others; and in regard of the People, and (those blind Leaders of the blind) the Friers and Priests, who (si dolosi spes refulserit nummi) could with this Bull, as a Bagge full of Wind, make Musike to the Vulgar, and cause them dance over the Seas in this Attempt, as no lesse holy (approved by that Holy Father) then [e] Davids dancing before the Arke. The Bulls bellowing, Authoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessæ, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in terris, where Gold and Glory were really proposed, with Conceits of Heaven and Merit annexed, could not but to Minds credulous, covetous, and therefore willing, adde Wind in Poupe, and become another generall Wind, to carry them to this New World. Besides, in Mindes scrupulous touching the lawfulnesse of that Designe, but acknowledging that fulnesse of Apostolicall power without examination or scruple, it was almost necessarie to obtaine that, which had it beene necessary to themselves, and in their owne Consciences had begun the lawfulnesse of that Action, they would not first have discovered and possessed (as the Bull it selfe intimates) and afterwards have demanded the Popes Grant; they would not have devoured that was sanctified and set apart from their use, and after the Vowes have enquired.

[d] *Taurum Neptuno taurum tibi pulcher Apollo. Virg.*

2. *Sam.* 6.

Reason of State is evident (abundans cautela non nocet) Religion of Episcopall power to be reason of giving just Title of Inheritance, and that to a World, to an Ethnike World, [f]Religia est dicere, is not onely (as the Mysteries of Religion are) beyond and above, but utterly against and contrary to reason. But from these Reasons of State, have the Romists (whose Religion at Rome is little else but Reason of State, as appeared in their late erected Pillar and ground of Truth, which pilled and cast the Truth to the ground, their [g]Councell of Trent) gathered a Soveraigntie over Kings and Kingdomes; and therefore whatsoever was done in this kind, whiles their Houre and the Power of Darkenesse lasted, is set upon the Last, and stretched, to make it a fit Slipper for the Popes prideswolne Foot to tread upon the Neckes of Kings and Emperors, as super Aspidem & Basilicum, with conculcabis Leonem & Draconem. Thus Alexander served Frederike, and thus of the second Frederike, said [h]Innocentius, then angry with the Kings of England and France, Expedit ut componamus cum Principe F. ut hos Regulos conteramus recalcitrantes: Contrito enim vel *pacificato Dracone cito Serpentuli conculcabuntur. These things he spake voce susurra, oculos obliquando & nares corrugando. Yea, now Bellarmine is much [i]amused and amazed, that his Majestie should presume to compare himselfe with the Pope, being a King of two Ilands in a Corner of the North, forgetting that Great Constantine, the Sunne of the Empire, arose from this Northerne Corner, which first filled the Hornes of the Popes Miter with secular Light, and by removing the Imperiall Seat, made way for that Starre to become a full Moone: which though a long time (as the Moone whiles the Sunne shineth) made no great shew, the Imperiall Greatnesse continuing; yet in the Ecclipse of the Empire, or that irrecoverable Night rather by Barbarian Deluges (these also God raysed out of the contemned North, to tread under foot the Roman Pride) seemed to become, in that Night of Darkenesse, Lady of the Light, indeed a light

[f] *Ter. beaut.*

[g] *See the Hist. of that Councell, published in English, translated out of Italian by M. Brent, which discovers the particular workings of that Mysterie.*

[h] *Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. An. 1245.*

* *Yet Michael the Archangell, when he strove against the Devill, durst not blame him with cursed speaking. Jude 9.*

[i] *Mirum est quòd is qui in angulo Septentrionis duas Insulas subjectas habet, ita de se præsumat, ut dicat, nulla ex parte me Pontifice esse inferiorem credo. Apolog. p. 26. Vid resp. Ep. El. pag. 78. Ad An. 1245.*

Lady; which dazzled with selfe-reflecting her borrowed Beames, challenged to be the Sunne, and glories to have procreated this later Moone, in translating and erecting the Westerne Empire; which, and all other Christian Kingdomes must no longer shine, then they admit the light of the Papall Sunne: otherwise their Opposition must be a Conjunction, and thence Thunder-striken, like young Phaetons, they must loose their Light, and Life, and Empire together, becomming as opacous Earth (so some conceit the Moone) yea, as darke Hells of Heresies, for not acknowledging the Pope. Let this contemner of the North remember, that this Northerne Corner was once [k] their Paradise and Garden of Pleasures, where the Pope himselfe [l] would have personally for a time resided, and was rejected, even in his Sonnes dayes, who (Bellarmine sayth untruly) de [m] consensu Baronum, resigned his Crowne to the Pope. And let him remember, that of the ten Hornes which shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burne her with fire, some may come out of some corner of the North. The ancient Almes of [n] Peter-pence he calls Tribute, and alledgeth Ireland to be the Popes Gift. Sure we are, that the Popes have done their best and worst against the English Right in Ireland, Paul [o] the fourth stomacking the Title of King, without Papall Licence, Pius the fifth, impiously deposing Queene Elizabeth by his Bull, and Gregorie the thirteenth intending it also to his Sonne, sending Forces with Stukley to that purpose, which (the Popes Blessing notwithstanding) perished before they came there. Neyther need we here or there feare Balac or *Balaam (their Curses are Blessings, though Sanders also play the Shemei). But for that of Ireland, [p] one of his owne Religion hath answered the Cardinall (whom hee applauds in Divinitie, but in forensibus aut rebus sæculi esteemes haud mediocriter peritum) That if the Pope or his predecessors ever had right, yet by his Bull, Possession taken by the English, and Prescription, they are utterly

[I. ii. 21.]
[k] *Matth. Paris. verè hortus noster deliciarum, est Anglia, verè puteus inexhaustus est, & ubi multa abundant multa possunt extorqueri de multis.*
[l] *Idem A. 1245.*
[m] *Vid. Resp. ad Apol. R. P. Episc. El. pag. 82. vid. & Tort. T. pag. 217.*
[n] *Constat ab Ad. 4. Pont. datam fuisse Hib. Hen. 2. An. 1156. pag. 29.*
[o] *Hist. Con. Trent.*
**Balaams counsell for Peor, his idolatrous Priests are more to be feared then his Bulls.*

[p] *G. Barret I.C. li. 3. c. 3. ad Lud. 13. Gal. R.*

excluded. He alledgeth also, besides the succession of divers Ages, that the Roman Court knowes well enough, that [q] Jus socialis Belli, and that voluntarie submission, yea supplication of the Irish to King Henry for that purpose, which hee accepted and performed, their Letters (as hee saith) still remayning in the Vatican. [r] Baronius hath testified, Hiberniam sponte deditam sibi consensu omnium vendicavit, and mentions the transcript of those Letters to Pope Alexander. Adrian indeed writ to King Henry, who had before consulted with him, being an Englishman, about those Irish Affaires, asking his advice and assistance (Consilium exigis & favorem Sedis Apost. are Adrians words, and the whole Epistle is of advice) but by that Epistle nothing was attempted. Fifteene yeeres after, King Henry offered aide to King Dermitius at his humble sollicitation, and by his Sword, not the Popes Keyes (as the [s] most learned Bishop hath answered the Cardinall) together with the submission of the Irish, obtayned that Soveraigntie.

[q] *Primus titulus jus est. socialis belli &c. sec. tit. verus profecto & Germanus est invitatio ordinum regni & totius Cleri*, 4. *Archiep.* 28. *Episc. &c.*

[r] *Baron. to.* 12. *An.* 1171.

[s] *Vid. Ep. El. ad Card. Bel. Apol. resp. pag.* 86.

The same challenge may they make to France, for consultation with Pope Zacharie, when Hilderike or Childerike was deposed by the French. Yea, what Kingdome doe they not finde some Window or Posterne to creepe into, and though these unjust Stewards cannot [t] digge, and to begge are ashamed; yet herein, where they have begged for [u] Peter-pence (as Adrian in that Letter of King Henry) even of such Begging will make an Instrument to digge thorow and steale; as some Rogues, which by Begging obtayning an Almes, have seized on the whole Purse, and robbed their Benefactor.

[t] *Lu.* 16.

[u] *Matth. Paris ad An.* 1155.

Thus he, which at first was a holy Bishop, after, by beneficence of Princes, became a Princely Prelate in the Church; next, by a Murtherer and Traytor was made Head and Prince of the Church, in Church-Affaires [x] Oecumenicall Pope: after which, by Princes bountie made a Prince, but tributarie; by Treason against his Prince, made himselfe his Princes Peere, and exalting himselfe above all that is called God, from the time of

[x] *Onuph. in vita Bonifac.* 3.

Gregorie the seventh hath bestirred him to make himselfe the Prince of all Princes *Christian, and now in this Alexander, a God of the World, the Stile (as is said) of the Devill. For whereas Adrian had challenged [y] omnes Insulas quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit & quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt, ad jus B. Petri & SS. Rom. Ecclesiæ pertinere, he doth it but of Christians, and for his *Peter-pence, as an argument to receive Almes, not to give Scepters: but this Bull hath a lowder bellow, and opens his mouth wider, Omnes Insulas & Terras firmas, inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas—versus Indiam aut aliam quamcunque partem—and that with an imagined Line from the Articke to the Antarticke Pole, by the imaginarie authoritie of Almightie God; with all their Cities, Castles, Dominions, Rights, Jurisdictions: inhibiting all others, under paine of Excommunition, to presume thither for Merchandise, or any other cause, &c. Doe they not challenge the Kingdomes of Hungarie, of Arragon, of Spaine it selfe, of Denmarke, of Dalmatia and Croatia, of Portugall, of Naples, Sicilia, Jerusalem, Sardinia, Bohemia, Swethen, Norway, Poland, Scotland, and all the Kingdomes of Europe; as *Stapleton, [z] Steuchus, Marta, and others have written. Wee read of a mad man at Athens, which esteemed every Ship that came into the Haven his owne, and therefore tooke Inventories of the Goods. Such is the sobrietie of Rome, as if the World had beene created for the Papacie; whatsoever Promises are made to the Church in Scripture, is their Inheritance; the Pope is the Church, and Peter, and Bishop, and Apostle, and Prince; yea, Christ, and God, and Cæsar, and all, and more then all; his Centre at Rome, his Circumference every where and no where. Accordingly he gives, as if he had all things; he takes, scrapes, rakes, as if he had nothing. Wittily did [a] Sanctius, Brother of the King of Arragon, shew himselfe gratefull to his Holinesse for like bountie, whom when the Pope

*Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est vasallus & ut plus dicam mancipium, said the Pope, angred with a Letter of Rob. Grosted, A. 1253. ap. Mat. Par. torvo aspectu & superbo &c.

[y] Mat. Paris An. 1155.

*The very words before are B. Pet. unius denarii de singulis domibus pensione. Sanè omnes Insulas &c.

*Stap. de Mag. R.E. l. 2. c 1. cui tit. R.E. potestas in orbis Principes etiam creandos, and having named very many, hee concludes, Est igitur hujus S. Sedis eximia potestas in Provinciis Christianis sua authoritate Reges instituere, creare, inaugurare, &c.

[z] Ex Reg. Greg. 7. ap. Steuch. l. 2. cont. Vallam pro Don. Const. Bodin. de Repub. l. 1. c. 9. vid. & Tort. Tort. p. 218. [a] Ep. El. respons. ad Bel. Apol. p. 85.

by sound of Trumpet had proclaymed King of Ægypt, [I. ii. 22.]
he requited him with like bountie by his Trumpetters,
proclayming the Pope Chaliph of Baldach, that is,
Mahomets Vicar (so Chaliph signifies) and supreme Head
of the Saracens. No lesse wisely did Earle Richard,
Brother to King Henry the third, acknowledge [b]the Popes
bountifull Gift of the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicil,
taken from King Conradus, demanding Hostages, Money,
and some Forts in the Popes hand, to be delivered him:
otherwise (saith he) it is all one as if he should give me
the Moone, and bid me climbe up and fetch it. And
well had it beene, if King Henry himselfe had so answered
him. Yea, the Catholike King [c]himselfe, in this inherit-
ance of Sicill, was sensible of the Popes clayme, and
prohibited that part of Baronius which maintained it.

[b] *Mat. Paris, An.* 1254. *Idem est acsiquis diceret, vendo vel do tibi lu nam ascende & apprehende eam.*

[c] *Phil. R. Hisp. Cath. Edictum cont. tractat. C. Bar. de Mon. Sic.*

But whence this Power so boundlesse? Is hee the Vicar
of Christ? This is hee, that being Heire[d] of all things,
[e]by whom and for whom all things were created, yea, [f]the
beginning of the new Creation of God, did [g]exinanire se,
tooke on him the forme of a Servant, that is, not the
shew, but the substance, as is his forme of God, and [h]came
not to be served, but to serve: Hee in his Birth would
be [i]taxed or enrolled a Servant to a forraine Prince; in
his Life payd Tribute Money, yea for Peter as well as
himselfe; did it, [k]and taught so to doe; in his Death
payd that he never tooke (vile & servile supplicium)
openly witnessed a good confession to Pilate, That his
[l]Kingdome was not of this World; yea, that this power
over him was given from above to Pilate: and when they
would have [m]made him a King, he refused; nor would
[n]divide the Heritage betwixt the Brethren, rejecting it
with Quis me constituit? Whereas his pretended [o]Vicar
hath made a Constitution of purpose to arrogate both
Swords, and this Alexander hath excluded all others, and
divided almost all the World to two Brethren.

[d] *Heb.* 1.
[e] *Col.* 1.
[f] *Ap.* 3.
[g] *Ph.* 2,
[h] *Luc.* 22.
[i] *Luc.* 2.
[k] *Matt.* 22.
[l] *Jo.* 18.
[m] 6. 15.
[n] *Luc.* 12.
[o] *Bon.* 8. *unum sanc.*

But the Pope is Successor of Peter and Paul the
Apostles, yea, the Heire of all Apostleship! And why
not then of that [p]Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos

[p] *Mat.* 20. *Luc.* 22.

autem non sic? And why doth he not listen to Peters, [q]Non dominantes in clerum, much lesse in mundum? And why doth he not with Peter, put up his Sword into his sheath, not drawing in such an Exigent for his Masters Life, such a Weapon with approbation? Malchus his right Eare, the Kings servants faithfull Eare, by this High Priest is cut off, and they made Recusants to Gods Service and the Kings Allegeance by his Sword, and Bellarmine his Armour-bearer. Yet if hee loves so well Armour, why doth hee not follow Paul in his [r]Arma Militiæ nostræ carnalia non sunt? and if he will needs be a Souldior, why breakes he Pauls Rule, [s]Nemo militans implicat se Negotiis sæcularibus? If yet he will change Peters Keyes into Pauls Sword, let him know Mucro furor Sauli, that Sword makes him the Successor of Saul a Persecutor, not Paul an Apostle. King Richard the first [t]being requested by the Pope to free his Sonne the Bishop Belvacensis, taken in the field, sent the Pope his Armour wherein he was taken, with this Message, Vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, annon: which caused the Pope modestly to disclayme him, Non filius meus est vel Ecclesiæ, quia potius Martis quam Christi Miles judicatur. Mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur: The reason is strong against the Popes challenging temporall Power and Kingdome, for which the [u]servants must fight in the judgement of Truth it selfe, with Weapons correspondent. Si utrumque habere voles, saith [x]Bernard (aut dominans Apostolatum, aut Apostolicus dominatum) perdes utrumque. The [y]Canons are strict herein; but the Pope is like the late Propheticall King of [z]Barbary, which could cause (as they report) the Bullets to remaine in the discharged Peeces, and therefore adventured himselfe and his on the Ordinance, without harme.

[q] 1 *Pet.* 5. *These places are produced by Victoria in his Relect. de Indis, n.* 27. *& de pet. Ecclesiæ.*

[r] 2. *Cor.* 10.

[s] 2. *Tim.* 2. *vid. Amb. ad istum loc.*

[t] *Mat. Par. An.* 1196.

[u] *Jo.* 18. 36.

[x] *Bern. de consid. l.* 2.

[y] *Can. Ap.* 80. & 82.

[z] *See my Pilg. l.* 6. *c.* 11. §. 3.

But what should I multiply words in this Argument, wherein not only our [a]men have taken this weightie

[a] *D.D. Episc. El. Tort. T. & Resp. & D. Morton & Abbat. & Buck. & Down. & Arch. Spalat. l.* 6. *c.* 10. *D. Sutl. de Pont. R. l.* 4. *c.* 14. *D. Whitak. & Rain. & Col. &c.*

Crowne from the Head of this Man (who worse then that Ammonite, serves not Embassadors, but Kings themselves in that homely fashion, cutting off their garments by the Buttockes, not leaving to cover their nakednesse, or his owne shame) and set it on Davids Head; but even [b] their owne, also both Schoolemen and Lawyers, and Universities and States, have written, decreed, by Penne and Pike sought to maintaine (as at Venice lately) the right of the Crowne free from the Triple Diademe. And Melchior Goldastus hath published a large Librarie of this kind. But this Argument hath found a Kingly Writer, a King a Writer, a King of Writers, as patterne and patron of other Learning, so herein also a Defender of the Faith. And foolishly doe I further powre Water into this Sea, into which Pope Alexanders Bull hath brought me: But their Romish Shop and Mint of Doctrines provoke me, which having [c] lately hammered a new Creed, annexed to their Tridentine Anathema's, and made a Bull to proclayme them, like [d] Mahomets Bull, which in the Turkes Legend brings the Alcaron in his Hornes, seeke haply to adde this as a Thirteenth, of the Popes Monarchie over Monarchs, so strangely rather then strongly defended by Jesuiticall [e] Spirits, no lesse Jebusiticall, in denying Davids right, then Jezabellicall, in painting the face of their Idolatrous Mother, whose Witchcrafts and Whoredomes remaining in too many, will not suffer even Children to hold their Peace. And indeed to recite, is to refute the Arguments of their Popes and Cardinals, as those of Boniface [f] the eight: In principio: ecce duo gladii: spiritualis homo judicat omnia, and other of like light moment. So that of Cardinall Bellarmine, Pasce Oves, and of Baronius, Occide & manduca, and before them, of our Countreyman Cardinall [g] Poole, for the Popes Temporall Power, Hæc omnia adjicientur vobis, Mat. 6. & Filii eorum qui te humiliaverunt curvi ad te venient ut adorent vestigia pedum tuorum, Es. 60. for Princes submitting their Scepters to the Pope; and the Divine Providence, in giving some Temporall peculiar for S.

[b] *Barclayus P. & F. G. Barret. Joan. Paris. Jac. Almain. Sorbona in Tanquerelli Palinod. Relect. Victoriæ &c.*

[c] *Bulla Juramenti de prof. fid.*

[d] *See my Pilg. l. 3 c. 3.*

[e] *See twentie such Articles against the state of Kings, drawne out of Bellarmine by the B. of W. in his learned Answer to the Apologie. Pag. 62.*

[f] *Bon. Extrau. unam sanc.* [I. ii. 23.]

[g] *Reg. Poli. de sum. P. c. 49.*

Peters Patrimonie, In qua administranda exemplo suo Imperatores & Reges proprium eorum hoc est Regiam artem & veram regendi populos rationem docerent. And yet how many of them lived in France, and never saw S. Peters Patrimonie? And well had it beene, if this Alexander had lived in this new World, or quite out of the World: yea, in the rest, their owne Historians shew no man more transported either by faction or affection to their kindred, whom they seeke with publike losse to advance: such examples they have beene at home. And what good examples they have beene abroad, appeares in that [h]King, which denyed his owne and his progenitors Grants, pretending the example of the Pope his playing fast and loose with his Non obstante; and the Popes practise of dispensing with Oathes both of Princes and subjects, can testifie; yea, most Corruptions, which Histories observe in secular Government, thence may derive easie Originals. Hence did that Justices complaint arise, Heu heu, hos ut quid dies expectavimus? Ecce jam civilis Curia exemplo Ecclesiasticæ coinquinatur & à sulfureo fonte rivulus intoxicatur. The same Historian tels of Oathes that multoties juraverat observare, idem Rex contraire non formidavit, credens pro munere absolui, which is now devolved to the people, both prohibited and absolved from Oathes by the Pope, now that Kings begin to discover and to hate the Whore, and are not as hee then saith, PP. & Rex in gravamen Ecclesiæ confœderati. And much lesse needs it, that the Pope should give that which is out of the Church, and none of Christs Flocke: For what power have the Keyes of the [i]Kingdome of Heaven to shut the Doores of Earthly, of meere Earthly Kingdomes? Or to shut out such as were never let into the Church? Yea, when Christ sayth, [k]Let him be as an Ethnike unto thee, expressing the utmost extent of the Keyes, how can Ethnikes be included, who are not sicut, but merè & verè Ethnici, alreadie? S. Paul sayth, [l]Quid mihi de iis qui foris sunt judicare? Nonne de iis qui intus sunt, vos judicatis? Nam eos qui foris sunt Deus

[h] *Mat. Par. in H. 3. An. 1252. nonne dom. Papa multoties factum suum revocat? Nonne opposito hoc repagulo Non Obstante chartas, cassat præconcessas? Sic & ego &c.*

[i] *Idem A. 1251. 1254. & 1256. &c.*

[k] *Mat. 18.*

[l] *1. Cor. 5. 12, 13.*

judicabit. This is cited by [m] Victoria, a Spanish Divine, to prove, that the Pope non habet dominium in Terris Infidelium quia non habet potestatem nisi intra Ecclesiam; adding, that Infidels are verè Domini, seeing the Apostle commands [n] Tribute to be payd them, and that the contrarie is merum commentum in adulationem & assentationem Pontificum: largely proving these Propositions, That the Pope is not Lord of the World, That the Temporall Power depends not of him, That it is not subject to his Temporall Power, and that he hath nothing to doe ordinarily to judge of Princes Cases, Titles, Jurisdictions, nor hath any Power meerely Temporall; That the Temporall Power doth not at all depend of the Spirituall. And in his Relections of the [o] Indians he sayth, That it doth not appeare to him, that the Christian Faith hath so beene preached to them, that they are bound sub novo peccato to beleeve it, having had no probable perswasion, as Miracles and examples of Religious life, but the contrarie: yea, had the Faith beene never so probably propounded, and they rejected it, yet might they not therefore be spoyled of their Goods, or pursued by Warre. And what right then had the Pope to propound that Method in his Bull, Vobis subjicere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere? Is any thing more free, then to beleeve? Else if [p] Ethnikes had beene to be compelled to enter into the Church (for it is otherwise with the Children of the Kingdome) hee would have sent Captaines, Conquerors, Alexanders (as the Saracens did, and this Alexander imitates) not Fishermen, Tent-makers, Publicans, as Sheepe amongst Wolves, not Wolves amongst Sheepe. On whom did David, or Moses, or any of the ancient Kings make Warre onely for Infidelitie? Unde gravissimè peccaremus (sayth Cardinall [q] Caietan) si fidem Christi Jesu per hanc viam ampliare contenderemus; nec essemus legitimi Domini illorum, sed magna latrocinia committeremus, & teneremur ad restitutionem, vipote injusti debellatores aut occupatores. Good men (sayth he) should be sent, by their Preaching and living to convert

[m] *Fr. à Vict. Relec. de Pot. Eccles.*

[n] *Rom.* 13.

[o] *Relect. de Ind. n.* 38.

[p] *Caiet. ad sum.* 22. *q.* 66. *ar.* 8. *Domini quamvis Infideles legitimi Domini sunt, nec sunt propter infid. à Dominio suorum privati, cùm Dominium fit ex jure positivo & infidelitas ex Divino jure &c.*

[q] *Caiet. ubi sup.*

them to God; and not such as shall oppresse, spoyle, scandalize, subject, and make them twice more the Children of Hell, like the Pharises.

And this may be the cause of all those Misorders which happened in the Indies: the most by a blind zeale, thinking they did God service in punishing the Idolatries, Man-eating, and Sodomies, and other Vices of the Ethnikes, with Invasion and Warre, especially where Terror might bring them, or, they being slaine, others by their example, to admit the Gospell; that had not the pietie and pittie of some eye-witnesses excited the Royall Provision of the Catholike Kings in this case (which over so wide Seas and spacious Lands they could not discerne) even Hell it selfe had beene loosed on Earth, under the pretext of Heaven, and the Prince of Darkenesse had effected his blackest and cruellest Designes, in habite of an Angell of Light. Tantum Religio poterat suadere malorum, may we say of this Religious irreligious Bull. Thus Nunho di [r]Gusman, a Spanish Commander, relates in an Epistle to the Emperour, his manner of invading: first, after his Martiall Prologue, preaching to the Indians, God, the Pope, and the King of Spaine, Minister of God on Earth, whom all men in the World ought to obey; the silly Indians for feare acknowledging themselves ready to worship the King, till his better instruction. He also perswades the Emperour not to give libertie to the Christian Indians, and to allow nothing but necessaries, that by much subjection they might be made good Christians. Hee quarrels those Quarrellers, that hold this Warre unjust, and seeke to disturbe it, being the most holy and meritorious Worke that can be done in the service of God, for which himselfe hoped the diminution of his sinnes. And if I should shew out of [s]Casas, a Spanish Bishop in those parts, the executions of this Bull, you would say, that the Brazen Bull of Phalaris, the Monster-Bull of Minos, the fire-breathing Bull subdued by Hercules, the Jewes *Behemoth, and those of Ægypt were but Calves to this of Pope Alexander: Hinc illæ

[r] *Ap. Ramus. Vol.* 3.

[I. ii. 24.]

[s] *Bart. Cas. of the Spanish Cruelties.*

**See P. Pilg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. *Of Egypt, their Mnevis, Apis, Bacis, Onuphis, &c. l.* 6. *c.* 4.

lachrymæ. They had beene Heretikes, if they had not obeyed the Pope, Subjiciendo & ad fidem Catholicam reducendo. All that wee have talked of Kings all this while, see effected in [t]Mutezuma (no meane, though an Ethnike Prince) out of Cortez his owne Relations to the Emperour, and in Attabaliba or Atahualpa, the mightie Inga, related by [u]Benzo, the Dominican Vincentius de valle viridi preaching the Popes Gift, to which if he did not willingly yeeld, he should be forced; which that Heathen disclaymed as unjust, saying, That the Pope was foolish and impudent, to give so liberally another mans goods. Whereupon the Frier cruelly cryed to the Spaniards, to execute that which was in that manner easie to effect, saying, agite Christiani, trucidate istos canes &c. What should I speake of Millions perishing without the Faith by this new Article of Faith, Subjicere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere? Of Shambles of Mans flesh, and other Cruelties? I delight not in such Tragædies, I onely shew the Choragus, the Westerne Alexander his Bull, or Bucephalus, the very Cerberus which produced those Dogges which hunted and devoured the Indians, and yet as Casas hath, were more milde then their Masters, Masters indeed of [x]immanitie and inhumanitie, but proceeding in this Schoole, and writing Comments and a world of Glosses on this Bull-Text with the bloud of a world of men in that New World. How doth Acosta and others deplore these bloudie and therefore slipperie foundations of the Faith? That from these forced beginnings, Nihilpium & salutare nisi per vim agant? That they have received but a shew of Christianitie, closely embracing their old Superstitions? As a Plant (sayth hee) growing crooked at first, must eyther be broken, or still suffered so to grow, Ita prorsus cùm Indorum natio bellici apparatus potius authoritate quàm germana prædicatione magna ex parte Christum acceperit &c. So amongst these Indians, as the feare of Warre, not true Preaching, made way to Christianitie, so doe they still retaine feare and a servile condition, not freely translated to be the Children of God

[t] *Cort. Narrat. ad Imp. Car.*

[u] *Benzo. l. 3. c. 3. See the whole Oration grounded on this Bull, the Pope thereby giving Terras incognitas, idque vi coactum &c. See Lop. Vaz, L. Gomera, Garc. de la Vega, &c.*

[x] *Inter arma silent. Leges. Non ex jure manu consertum, sed mage ferro Rem repetent. I. Acosta de procuranda Indorum salute, l. 1. c. 13, 14. l. 2. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15. l. 3. c. 3, 4, 5. l. 4. c. 4, 5, &c. He also shewes how naturall Merchandise is, and how unjust it is to prohibite it: producing the example of the Chinois; he might, of this Bull.*

A.D. c. 1621.

by Regeneration. For nothing is so contrarie to Faith, as is all force and violence. But of their Christianitie I have spoken *elsewhere out of their owne Authors; I here shew the root of it, this Apostolike Bull. The Poets tell of Europa deflowred by Jupiter, having conveyed her thorow the Sea in forme of a Bull. The Roman Jupiter of the Vatican Capitoll, or S. Angelo Vejovis, hath conveyed over this greater part of the World, this New World, America, to be both deflowred and devoured by Catholike Souldiers, by his Catholike Bull, in faire shew of reducing to Faith, but first mentioning Forts, and Subjection. That Bull by the Poets was exalted to a Constellation in Heaven: This Bull having made such havocke on Earth, rather deserves Hell, except some Poets which can make their Gods (as the Pope in Canonization, the Priest in Consecration) can devise also to make new Antartike Heavens to place this Bull in: Our Artike is now too full of Constellations, to admit any such Monsters, lest hee should make terrible Tragedies there also, being since growne so huge, that he incompasseth the two Hemispheres with his hornie Hemi-circles.

*In the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage.

And for his prohibition of all Christians else to attempt those parts for Merchandise or other cause; what is it, but with his two Hornes to push at, and out, both Nature and Grace? That in so large a Tract of the World it may neyther be lawfull to carrie Spirituall, nor recarrie Temporall Commodities, without leave obtained, under paine of Excommunication? And is it not Bulla, a bubble and froth, the babbling or babelling of Babel, That a Bishop should countermand Merchandise, and the Servant of Gods Servants should make himselfe a Lord of Heathen Lords, to give the Crownes of Kings by Apostolicall Salutem & benedictionem? What more Apostaticall or Apotacticall? What could Alexanders Malediction have done more, or worse? Is subjicere the way to bring to the Catholike Faith? Proh fidem istam Catholicam! Proh Deûm atque hominum fidem! Rara fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur.

And yet one clause of Baptisme is more Bullish or Hellish then the rest (per sacri lavacri susceptionem qua Mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis) That Christians, that Kings are obliged, by their very Baptisme obliged to the Apostolicall, that is, in their sense, the Popes Commandements. [a]Divisus est Christus? Nunquid Paulus crucifixus est pro vobis, aut in nomine Pauli baptisati estis? said that glorious Apostle of the Gentiles: but this gentle glorying Apostle will needs in a new Catholike Faith be eyther crucified for us with Christ, or make a fourth Person in the Trinitie, unto whose Mandates alone wee are baptized. But Boniface had answered this, [b]Unum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus & ipsi Vicarius. This also favours Alexander, which would needs be a God, the sonne of Jupiter, and was so by his Parasites acknowledged. And right so the Pope by his flatterers, who affirme, [c]Reges cum hac conditione admitti ad Ecclesiam ut Christo Sceptra subjiciant, and consequently, to his Vicar the Pope. We poore men had thought, that in the Sacraments God had vouchsafed us a great dignitie, that we are therein equall with Kings; that in [d]one Spirit we had been all baptized into one Body, whether Jewes or Gentiles, whether bond or free; that [e]whosoever were baptized in Christ, had put on Christ, and that there was neither Jew nor Greeke, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female: omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Jesu. But see how this horned Beast, with his Scepter-pushing Bull blesseth and makes us more happy then baptized Kings: for we may enjoy our Possessions, our Professions as more free, at least not impaired by Baptisme; but Kings are admitted into the Church, with subjection of their Persons and Crownes to the Pope; their subjects also may disclayme, not sweare, forsweare Allegeance; yea, it shall be tolerable, nay lawfull, nay commendable, yea, and meritorious for Heaven, to kill the Kings of the Earth, which shall be immorigerous to his Holinesse. Protestants are generally beholden to his Catholike Keyes, which open

[a] *1. Co.* 1. 13.

[b] *Bon.* 8. *Extr. de major. & ob.*

[I. ii. 25.]

[c] *Bellar. in his Mat. Tort. vid. Torturam T. pag.* 32.

[d] *1. Cor.* 12. 13.

[e] *Gal.* 3. 27, 28.

Rome, the Catholike Mother Citie, to Strumpets, to Jewes, but locke out our Generation to the consuming flames: but Protestant, yea, Catholike Kings, are lesse in favour then other Catholikes, and in condition like the Jewes: for as they must, in converting to Christianitie, renounce their former Wealth (as [f]Victor de Carben, a Christened Jew, complaynes) together with the World and the Devill, embracing beggerie with their Christianitie, which makes so few Converts; so Kings (which even amongst Heathens knew no Superiour but God) must in their Baptisme make a tacite renuntiation of their Kingdomes, when their holy Lord the Pope (in ordine ad Deum) shall so adjudge. And if he obey not, he loseth his Baptisme, becomes now an Heretike, and his subjects, by vertue of that his Baptisme, also, which obliged him to the Pope, are at the Popes Bulls first lowing to depose him. Jam sumus ergo pares, Kings and Jewes may say: it is better (in secular respects) not to professe Christ, not to be baptized. The reason out of Tortus his new Kabala (as that learned [g]Bishop calls it) ortus cuique duplex, in our naturall birth we are borne subjects to our Prince, in our supernaturall (by Baptismall Regeneration) congenitum aliud & tacitum juramentum ad obediendum Principi spirituali, Christi Vicario, Papæ, we are therein sworne forsooth to the Pope. It is no marvell that this Bull hath begotten such brutish Christians in America, as the [h]Jesuites complayne; I hope in the East they teach otherwise.

That the Pope renounceth his Baptismall Name, I never knew the reason before, nor doe I now marvell; for then our Roderigo Borgia was sworne in Baptisme to Christ, and tacitely to the Pope: but now he is made Pope himselfe, a Name in opposition to all obedience, free from both,[i] ὁ ἄνομος, exlex ille; no more Roderigo the Christian, subject (it is a terme of all others most odious to Popes) to Christ and the Pope, but Alexander the Great, the very Pope, emulous to Christ; his Vicar, which doth and receiveth all things, as one and the same Head with Christ (giving a World, receiving Kings in Baptisme,

[f] *Vict. de Carb. l. 1. c. 4, 5.*

[g] *Tort. Torti. pag. 201.*

[h] *Acost. sæpi. in lib. de proc. Ind. sal.*

[i] *2. Th. 2. vid. Down. de Antich. l. 5. c. 6.*

as here) and therefore very Antichrist, both as ἀντικείμενος, opposing, and as ὑποραιρόμενος in the Name of Christs Vicar, with his two Hornes like the Lambe, extolling himselfe [k] above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, ita ut in Templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit Deus. And so I leave him, and his Apis, his Ægyptian Babylonicall Bull: In bayting whereof, if I have playd the fierce English Mastiffe, no man that hath read the storie of the Spanish Dogges in the West Indies (which came out of this Kennell) can be justly offended. And (besides that the place where I writ this, hath beene *Ch. Col.* a place of argument to move me to enter these Lists) the argument of this great Worke, Navigations, English Indian Navigations exacted some Apologie, to shrowd themselves from this Bulls pushing and lowd bellowing Thunders, Nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. The Curse that is causelesse, shall not come: God will doe good to David for Shimeis cursing. The Catholike Princes of those dayes did not beleeve him, nor have they since. The Portugals (as you shall presently heare) regarded it not; and not the Bull, but other compromise, stayed them from open Hostilitie. The peaceable and wise King of England, Henry the seventh, sent presently after Cabota to discover: The French, in their France Antartike, and new France, and other East and West Navigations, have contradicted. These beleeved not, that the Sunne shined onely in one Kingdome, whatsoever Combustions this portentuous Comet diffused. And long, long may his Majestie of Great Brittaine spread his long and just Armes to the furthest East and remotest West, in the gainefull Traffiques, in the painefull Discoveries, in the Glorious and Christian Plantations of his Subjects (maugre such Bug-beare, Bull-beare bellowings) Salomon and Hiram, Israelites and Tyrians, all Arts and Religions concurring

[k] 2. *Th.* 2. *vid. Down. l.* 4. *c.* 1.

into one Art of Arts, the Truth of Religion, and advancing of the Faith, together with the glory of his Name, the splendour of his State, the love of his People, the hopes of his Royall Posteritie to the last of Ages. Amen. Amen.

[I. ii. 26.]

§. VII.

Of the Portugals discontent and compromise with the Spaniard, and their first Discoverie of the East Indies.

THe King of Portugall was much discontent, and sent his Embassadour to the King and Queene, who also sent unto him in Embassage Garcia de Herera; and after that, seeing that the Portugall intended by force to defend his supposed Right to the Ocean, and by a strong Fleet to dispossesse the Castilians of their late Discoverie, sent Don Pedro de Ayala, and Lopez de Carvajal; the substance of whose Embassage, was to congratulate with King John his desire of Peace to be conserved betwixt them, which was also the care of their Catholike Majesties: And as for that difference touching Discoveries, which the King by Apostolicall Grant and by Possession and Prescription challenged, they would yeeld unto any honest course, which might maintaine brotherly love and amitie; themselves being perswaded, that their late Discoverie no way concerned him, nor disturbed their mutuall League, as not neere Guinea, or any of the Portugall Discoveries: That they were content to name fit persons, by way of Justice to determine the Controversie, or to put it to his Holinesse, to be heard in the Court at Rome. But secretly they gave order, that the Businesse should at least be protracted, and continued on foot, till they might heare how their second Fleet succeeded: which the Embassadours performed cunningly, but not unperceived of King John; who sayd, that Embassage of the Castilians had neyther Head nor Feet: smartly insinuating the lame Leg of the one, and

Barrius quo sup. Mass. hist. Ind. l. 1. Herera, Dec. 1. l. 2. c. 8, 9, 10.

the light and vain-glorious Braine of the other Embassador. The Portugall Embassadour had made overture of all the North Discoveries thorow the World, to belong to Castile, from the Canaries, and thence Southward to the Portugall. But this was not accepted. Afterwards, three Counsellors of State, on the behalfe of each Kingdome, were imployed in this Discoverie of the right and just Titles and Bounds of the Discoverers: which on the seventh of June, 1493. agreed, That the Line of Partition, contained in the Bull of the Pope, should be extended 270. Leagues further to the West, all from thence Westward to remayne to the Castilian, and Eastward to the Portugall Navigation and Conquest: That there should be free sayling on both parts, but neyther should send to trade without these Limits. This was put in Writing, and confirmed on the second of July by the Castilian, on the seven and twentieth of February by the Portugall, Kings; and Cosmographers also imployed, which should designe the said Limitation. And now each partie intended to prosecute new Discoveries, King John preparing a Fleet for search beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on the Coast of Africa, whereof Covilian had given him intelligence. But amids these preparations, God calls him to the fatall and finall peregrination of all Flesh.

The Popes authoritie infringed by a latter accord.

Don Emanuel succeeded him in that Crowne the twentieth of October, 1495. And the yeere 1497. imployed Vasco di Gama with three *Ships, one Victualler with 160. men. This Voyage had beene the rather thus long deferred, because the Portugals in the former Discoverie having met with such stormes and tempests neere the Cape which therefore they called Tormentoso, a new Conceit possessed most of the Mariners, as had done before touching Cape Bogiadore, that there was no sayling any further. But Gama feared no such phantasies, and receiving Covilians Map and Instruction, with Letters to the Indian Kings, hoysed sayle on the ninth of July (a season unfitting, as Experience after shewed) and passing by the Ile of Saint James, directed his course Eastwards.

Emanuel King of Portugall.

**Bar. Dec.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1.

Osor. de reb. Eman. l. 1. *l.* 1.

A.D. 1497.

Bay of Saint Helena.

The first Land he saw, was that which he tearmed the Bay of S. Helena (for this was their Customes, to name Lands at their first discoverie, of that Saint on whose day they discovered the same) where, after three moneths ill weather, they went on Land. They tooke some Negros of curled haire, whose Language none of theirs could understand; which receiving Glasse-Beads, and Bells, with other trifling kindnesses, procured their Countreymens familiaritie and traffique by signes for such Victuals as they had. But one Portugall desiring to goe with them to their houses, not liking their diet, and returning with much companie, when he came in sight of his owne, more for feare then any just cause, cryed out for their helpe. This caused the Portugals to come in to succour, and the Negros to flye, which with their Poles sharpened at the end with Hornes, as with sharpe Darts, wounded the Christians, and amongst many others, Gama himselfe. By this fooles occasion they hastened thence, towards the Cape of Good Hope, and encountred such Winterly stormes in the way (the time of the yeere being then unseasonable) that they were forced to strike sayle, and commit themselves to the Windes boysterous tuition; and the companie importuned Gama not to permit them to so terrible a death, but to hast his returne. Which when he constantly refused, they conspired his death: but by his brother Pauls relation fore-warned, he fore-armed himselfe with vigilant circumspection, and laying the Masters in the Bolts, became Master himselfe.

The folly of a cowardly fellow.

Mutinie the fore-runner of greatest Exploits.

On the twentieth of November hee doubled the Cape, and sayled continually neere the Land, which they saw full of Cattell, and People like those at S. Helena, naked, inclosing their privities in a receptacle of Wood, uttering their speech out of the Throat, as it were sobbing. Having refreshed themselves not farre from the Cape, they proceeded, and the eight of December a storme drave them out of sight of Land, whereto with faire Weather they presently returned: and having passed two hundred and thirtie miles from their last Watering place, seeing a

[I. ii. 27.]

pleasant Countrey, and the Sea deepe hard by the shore, and much people, on the tenth of Januarie he sent one on shore with a Present, who was kindly used, and with their Countrey Presents returned. Here Gama set two condemned persons on shore (ten of which he had with him, having pardon of their lives, with condition to be set on shore where the Governour saw meet) there to observe the Countrey and People. And proceeding, he came to a goodly Countrey, where the people coloured as the former, were more bold and familiar; and one with ill Arabike signified, that in a Countrey not farre thence, Ships like theirs used to come: whence he termed that the River of good signes, hoping thence to find out India quickly; erecting also a Stone-Crosse, and naming the Countrey S. Raphael, leaving there likewise two other condemned persons.

Benefit of condemned persons.

After refreshing his sicke companie, he departed, and on the first of March they espyed seven small Sayles, which made toward the Admirall, and comming neere, with a lowd crie saluted them in Arabike, and made them much Musike. The men had Garments of Silke, with Linnen Turbants wrought with Gold, and Falchions girded to their sides. They came abord were well entertained, and tell, that the name of the Iland was Mozambique, the people Ethnike, but a great part inhabited by Mores or Mahumetans. For some knowledge of Divine Scripture hath in usuall appellation caused a distinction of these from others which have no knowledge of God but meerely naturall, whom therefore Authors usually call Idolaters, or Gentiles and Ethnikes. It was subject to the King of Quiloa, and thence was ordinarie Trade into Arabia, India, and other parts of the World. They learned, that they had passed Zophala, where is much Gold.

Mozambique discovered.

It is remarkable, that these Mores used both *Compasse, and Sea-Cards or Plats; Quadrants also, wherewith they observed the height of places, the Sunnes declinations and distance from the Line; and were furnished with

**The Compas, and Sea-Cards and Quadrants in use with Mores in the Indian Seas before the Portugals discovered them.*

divers Maritime Mysteries, not much short of the Portugalls. They mistooke the Christians for Mahumetans of Barbary, and therefore used them so kindly. Zacoeja, the Governour of the place, to whom they had sent Presents, visited them in great pompe, and was feasted on shipboord (the sicke being removed out of sight, and the rest well armed, for feare of Trecherie) neyther did their superstition forbid them to drinke Wine, if it were not ignorance rather of that Liquor. He inquired of them (not doubting of their Mahumetisme) whether they were *Mores or Turkes (usually all Mahumetans of Africa, Arabia, and the Indian Coasts are called Mores, from which name, the Greatnesse of the Turke, Tartars, Persian, and Mogull, with I know not what differences of Sect, have in ordinary appellation exempted them) he asked also of their Weapons and Mahumetan Bookes. Gama answered, That they came out of the remotest West; that they used such Armour as he saw, with such Ordinance able to ruine Castles; and for his Bookes, he would show them when he had finished his Journey: for hee was now in his way to India, and desired his helpe for Pilots to Calicut. This Zacoeja promised; and the next day brought him two, with whom hee agreed how much Gold he should give to conduct him thither. But in the midst of all this kindnesse it being perceived that they were Christians, they devised all mischiefe against them, which was by one of those Pilots revealed to Gama. They set upon the Christians also as they were filling Water.

Hereupon Gama with his three ships (for the fourth was set on fire before) went to [a]Quiloa, but eyther by necessitie, or their Pilots trecherie, were hindered from shore: This Pilot perswaded them to goe to [b]Mombaza, dissembling, that a great part of that Citie were Christians, and that it was a fit place to refresh his sicke men, many of his companie being dead, and the rest feeble. The Land is there fertile, the Ayre wholesome, the People hee found trecherous. For the King sent a ship with a

*Mores, who are usually called: I thinke that they were first so called, because out of Mauritania, they passed first into Spain: and therefore all of that Religion, which the Spanish Nation found in their Discoveries of Africa and India, they called Mores. But the other Nations Mahumetan, of which the knowledge hath come to us over land, & not by the Castilian or Portugall, retayne their own titles, as Turks, &c.' His question is, whether they came out of Barbary, which before called Mauritania, gave them this name of Mores, or out of Turkie?

[a] Quiloa.

[b] Mombaza.

hundred men, armed [c]Turk-fashion, which would all have entred; but Gama onely suffered foure of the principall, who related their Kings desire of his acquaintance, and proffered all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer the Citie. The King also by two condemned persons whom he put on shore, sent him Spices, and so wrought, that Gama intended to fulfill his mind: but in the way fearing a shelfe, suddenly commanded to cast anchor. Whereupon his More-Pilots, by selfe-guiltinesse accused, leaped into the Sea, suspecting that their trecherie was revealed, having before covenanted with the King of Mombaza, to set the ships eyther on ground, or in easie possibilitie of taking. The trecherous Pilots escaped in Boats: and in the Night the King sent others closely to cut their Cables, which by vigilant care they avoided.

[c] *Morish trecherie.*

They departed thence for [d]Melinde, and there arrived on Easter day. The Houses he found of hewen Stone, stately and usefully built, the Countrey fruitfull, the People Idolaters, blacke, with curled haire, from the Navell upwards naked, thence clothed with Silkes to the middle Legge. Here he found [e]Christians of India, which much rejoyced at the sight of the Portugals, and admonished them of many things fitting to their Voyage. Hee was kindly used of the Prince (the King himselfe was decrepit) who gave him a Master, an Indian for his Navigation. Hence they departed the two and twentieth of Aprill, and having passed the Line, with joy recovered sight of the Starres, which so long they had not seene.

[d] *Melinde.*

[e] *Christians of India.* [I. ii. 28.]

§. VIII.

Of Gamas Acts at Calicut, and his returne.

THe nineteenth of May they had sight of Land, being the high Mountaines neere to Calicut, and came within two miles of the Citie the same day. He gave thankes to God, and set one of his condemned persons on shore, who was almost oppressed with multitudes pressing to see a man of so uncouth habite, till at

last two Merchants of Tunis easily knew him to be a Spaniard: and Monzaida, one of them, asked him in Spanish of what parts of Spaine he was; and being answered, of Portugall, invited him home: and having made him eat and drinke, went on boord with him to Gama, and proffered him all kindnesse; telling him, that the King of Calecut (whose Customes were his chiefe Revenues) would be glad of their comming. To him Gama sent two of his companie with Monzaida, which declared to him, that their King moved by his worthy fame, had sent one of his Captaines thither, to establish mutuall love and amitie. The King gladly heard them, and willed them to bring their Fleet to Pandarane (where hee then was) because the road of Calecut was dangerous in that season of the yeere, and sent a Pilot to effect it. Soone after, the King sent an Officer or Magistrate, called Catual, honourably to conduct Gama unto him: who appointing Paul Gama his brother over the Fleet, bad him, if ought amisse happened to him, that hee should returne home, without further care of him. For neyther could hee effect his Kings designes otherwise, nor they resist that Kings power to relieve him.

Nairos are the Guard and Souldiors.

They were no sooner landed, then a Litter received each of them (many Nairos attending on foot) and after that another, and were brought into a sumptuous Temple, esteemed of great sanctitie, which Gama supposed by the structure, and other *signes, and because he had heard of many Christians in those parts, to be Christian. At the Temple doore foure men met them naked to the navill, thence clothed with silke to the knees, having three threds from the right shoulder crossed to the left side (the habit of Bramenes) which sprinkled holy water on them, and gave them sweet poulders. The walls of the Temples had many Images painted on them. In the midst was a round high Chappell, with a brazen narrow doore, having many steps to it, and within, an Image which the darkenesse would not suffer them to discerne, neyther might any enter but the Priests, who approaching

**Images at the first sight, &c.*

to the Image with their finger pointing to it, twice called *Maria, whereat the Catual and his companie falling flat on the Earth, presently arose and sayd their prayers. The Portugals thinking it to be some Service of the Blessed Virgin, worshipped her after their wonted manner. Thence they passed to another Temple of like magnificence, and after that, to the Kings Palace, Trumpets and Pipes sounding all the while: and the people so thronged, that had not the Nairos made way with their Swords, they could not have passed. At the Gate they were met by certaine Nobles, called Caimaes, and approaching to the roome where the King was, an aged man clothed in silke from the shoulders to the anckles, comming forth, embraced Gama. This was the chiefe of the Bramenes. The others being first permitted entrance, he last of all holding Gama by the hand, followed. It was a large Hall, with many Benches artificially wrought one above another, in forme of a Theatre. The Floore was covered with Silke, the Walls hanged with Curtaines of Silke, embroydered with Gold. The King lay in a rich Bed, with a Tyre on his head set with Stones and wrought with Gold, clothed with Silke, having many golden Claspes on the Brest. On his Eares hung Jewels of great value: his Toes and Fingers, with Rings and Gemmes made a glorious splendour: His personage was comely, tall, majesticall. Gama saluted him as the use here is to the King, and was then placed in a Seat next him; the other Portugals also sate downe. Water was brought to wash and coole their hands, and divers Fruits to refresh them. After this, he questioned Gama of his Embassage: who answered, that it was not the Portugall custome to declare Embassages in promiscuous and publike Assemblies, but to communicate the same onely with the King and his Councell, or Committees. Hereupon the King, remooveth into a fairer Roome, and there heard Gama relating the worth of his Master King Emanuel; who in a magnanimous spirit, having heard of the renowned greatnesse of the King of Calicut, and of the

*How neere a consanguinitie is in all kinds of Idolatry? How easie a passage from ye worship ye know not what, to the worship of the Devill himselfe? Of these Devotions, see my Pilgrimage, l. 5.

The like happened to the Japon Christians, which seeing the Picture of Venus and Adonis in Captaine Saris his Ship, worshipped the same, mistaking it for the Picture of the Virgin, &c.

rarities of India, had in desire of league and friendship, sent him thither, to begin it in his Name, whence might both Honor also and Profit arise to both parts; and signified, that he had Letters of Credence unto him. The King courteously received his words, and promised to acknowledge the King of Portugall as his Brother: giving order to the Catual to conduct him to the House appointed for his Lodging. The Citie was large, the [I. ii. 29.] Houses not being continued, but with Orchyards and Gardens distinguished, meanely built, the Law so providing, onely the Kings House of Stone. This King at that time was chiefe of all the Princes adjoyning both in wealth and power.

After three dayes, Gama conducted by the Catual, delivered the King his Letter, and withall a Present, which the King seemed to contemne, but was excused by the uncertaintie of the Navigation: neyther was any Present so good, as the friendship of such a Prince; from whom also if he expected profit, it should be effected by ships of Merchandize yerely trading thither. He desired, that his Kings Letters might not be interpreted by Saracens, forasmuch as he perceived by Monzaida, that they sought him a mischiefe. Monzaida interpreted the Letter, and the King admonished him to be vigilant against Saracenicall fraudes: for which hee thanked him, and departed. These Mores consulted their ruine, and bribed the Courtiers to that end, traducing Gama also for a Pyrate and a Spie in shew of a Merchant, a sparke (if not timely quenched) likely soone to bring that whole State in combustion. This they did partly in hatred of the Christian Name, and partly in feare of decaying their Trade, communicated thus to Portugalls. The King wearied with their importunities, fearing to lose their Customes, and feared by the examples of the Mores and Negros in Africa, with some exploits in the way, whose beggerie also he saw in their Kings contemptible Present, and their poore Merchandize, as if he had sent to some wilde Negro Prince; threatned with their departure to

Malice of Mores.

some other Prince, and to remove their Staple thither with his manifest losse, perhaps their owne gayne; yeelded to them, and sent the Catual to perswade Gama, with promise of all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer, and for securitie deliver up his sayles. But he writ to his brother, That if he saw him long detayned, to set sayle homewards: and after much contention, agrees to send on shore his Merchandize, with men to sell them, whereupon he is dismissed to his ship. He complayned to the King of the Catual, who gave him faire promises, but caused his Merchandize to be carryed to Calicut, where he said was better sale.

Gama was content, and every day sent two or three together, to observe the Citie, which yet received no offence. He desired of the King to leave a Factor there: whereto the King making angry answere, made no reply, which caused further anger, and two of his men on shore to be committed to custodie, with their Wares. Which when he could not re-obtayne by intreatie, hee set upon the next ship which came thither, and tooke thence six principall men, and then put off further into the Sea. The King sent to him, saying, hee wondered much hee would apprehend his servants, seeing hee detayned the two Portugals only, till hee had written to King Emanuel, whom also the next day hee sent with Letters: but withheld the Wares for their Factor, if hee would send any, to dispose thereof. But Gama sayd hee would now leave none, and would keepe the men till hee had his goods. The day after, Monzaida came to them, and told them, that hee had beene in danger of his life for their sakes, which having very hardly escaped, hee prayed to carry him with them to Portugall; which they did, and there hee became Christian. The King sent his Wares in seven Boats; but Gama refused, and sayd hee would carry those Malabars into Portugall, to testifie how injuriously the King of Calicut had used him: and presently discharging his Ordenance, chased them away. The King was enraged, but his Navie was at that season unrigged, and

in harbour. Yet he sent out threescore Merchants against them, which were by sudden tempest dispersed.

Gama from the next Port where hee could arrive, sent a Letter with good words to the King, by one of his Captives servants. There hee was assaulted by Timoia, a Pyrat, with eight ships, whereof hee tooke one well furnished, the rest fled. Hee went to Anchediva, to amend his ships, and there was saluted by a servant of Zabaius, Lord of Goa, an Italian, who in the name of his Master offered him all kindnesse, if hee would goe thither. This man professed himselfe an Italian, captived by Pyrates, and so brought to serve a Mahumetan in these parts. Gama perceiving him wittie, but curious and busie, suspected and apprehended him, who being tortured, confessed himselfe a Tartarian Jew, sent by Zabaius for a Spie, whom he carryed with him into Portugall, where hee was baptized, and proved serviceable in many things to the King.

Timoia a Pyrate.

Anchediva.

Goa, and their trecherie.

Thence hee now hasted his departure, and the time being unseasonable, came slowly to Magadoxo, on the African shore: and because they were Mahumetans, sunke and spoyled their ships, and ruined a great part of their Walls. At Melinde hee was kindly entertained, and his men well refreshed: and within five dayes, for feare of Winter at the Cape, set sayle, with an Embassadour from Melinde to Portugall. Hee burnt, as unfit for the Voyage, the ship of Paul Gama, having need of the Mariners to supply the other two.

Magadoxo.

Melinde.

On the seven and twentieth of February hee came to an Island called Zanzibar, foure and twentie miles from the Continent, where hee was well entertayned and refreshed of the Prince, though a More. Hee refreshed himselfe againe at Saint Blases watering, and on the five and twentieth of Aprill doubled the Cape. Thence to Saint Iago, where by tempest they were parted; Cœlius the other Captaine next way to Lisbone, Gama to the Tercera, where his brother Paul died; and soone after, to Lisbone, in the yeere 1499. where Cœlius had related

Zanzibar.

Watering of S. Blase.

[I. ii. 30.]

all to the King before. Of an hundred fortie eight, or as others report, an hundred and threescore, there returned onely five and fiftie, and those very feeble.

§. IX.

The second Fleet sent to the East Indies: Their discoverie of Brasill, and other Acts.

KIng Emanuel set forth a second Fleet of thirteene ships, well furnished, with fifteene hundred souldiors and munition, under Peter Alvarez Capralis, whom he commanded to hold peace and confirme amitie, if it might be, with the King of Calecut, and if it were possible, to get leave of him to build a Fort neere the Citie, where they might be secure from Saracenicall Hostilitie. Hee sent also five Franciscans for holy Offices, both to the Portugals, and if meanes were offered, for conversion of the Infidels. Hee departed from Lisbone the eight of March, in the secular yeere: and holding his course to S. Iago, there met with a storme which scattered the Fleet, and forced one ship to returne home. 1500.

The rest of the Fleet having two dayes after the Tempest stayed in vaine for it, set sayle Westward, and on the three and twentieth of Aprill had sight of Land, with no lesse marvell then joy. Capralis commanded the Master to goe neere, and take view of the shore, which returned newes of a fertile and well watered Soyle, the Natives naked, with long hayre, and Bowes and Arrowes. But that night a storme tooke them, which much tormented them, till at last he light into a safe Harbour, which thereupon he called Puerto Seguro. They tooke two Fishermen, which by no signes could or would understand them, whom with Bells, Bracelets, and Glasses they restored on shore; which brought the rest with store of Meale and Fruits for like Traffique. Hee named this Land of the holy Crosse, since of store of that Wood, called Brasill; and having erected a Stone Pillar, sent one of his ships backe to Portugall with that newes. Hee had Masse and

Land of Brasil first discovered.

Puerto Seguro.

a Sermon on shore, to the great astonishment of the Savages.

Difficulties in all great Attempts.

On the fift of May hee departed, and on the three and twentieth a sudden violent storme sunke foure of their ships, not one man escaping; and soone after, the remayning seven with another tempest were severed: and on the five and twentieth of July six of them held their course together, one being separated, which pierced into the Arabian Gulfe, or Red Sea; and thence returned home with onely six men, the rest perishing by famine and diseases. The other six having doubled the Cape of good Hope, found Land pleasant and fertile, but the people would not trade with them, then destitute of provision. At last they espyed two ships at anchor, which having sight of the Portugals, fled, but were pursued and taken: but learning that they belonged to Foteima, a Prince in amitie with the King of Melinde, he let them passe with great store of Gold which they had brought from Zofala, with other rich commodities. At Mozambique he watered without impediment, and bought Victuals, and hired a Pilot to Quiloa. The King of Quiloa's Dominion extended nine hundred miles in length, his subjects being some blacke, some coloured, speake Arabike, besides other Languages, Merchants of divers Countries trading amongst them. It is separate from Land with a narrow Sea, foure hundred miles from Mozambique, full of Springs, Trees, Cattell wilde and tame, rich in Soyle and Fishing. The Citie great and populous, with magnificent Houses, with store of furniture: Their ships, for want of Pitch, trimmed with a bastard Frankincense. Capralis sent to Abrahem the King, who kindly entertayned the Messengers, and promised next day to come aboord: which hee did in Barges gallantly decked, his companie attyred in Gold, Purple, or Silke, with Swords and Daggers, having in the Hilts gemmes of great splendour; the Ayre filled with Trumpets and Pipes, confused with the Trumpets and Ordinance of the Portugals, who in their best attyre went into their Boats to meet him. The

Zofala.

Quiloa.

King heard his Letters and Embassage with joy, and promised to hold his Master for his brother, and the next day was designed for confirmation of the League. The Mores with wily arts intervert this amitie, upbrayding to the King his simplicitie, that would give such credit to Pyrats. *Mores trecherie.*

Capralis hearing this, holdeth on his way to Melinde, where with incredible gladnesse hee was welcommed, and the Embassador now returned to his Master with the King of Portugals Presents, namely, a faire Horse sumptuously trapped, with other gifts. Here Capralis would not stay, but left two exiles or condemned persons there, to enquire if any way were open to Prester John, and to learne the Customes of the Countrey. On the two and twentieth of August he came to Anchediva, and there a while refreshed his companie; which having done, he sayled to Calicut. The King sent two Nairos with a Guzarate Merchant to salute Capralis, who sent with them backe his Christened Jew, and foure of those Nairos, or Courtiers, which Gama had taken the yeere before (two hee detayned as Pledges) with John Sala a Portugall, all in Portugall habite, whereat the King rejoyced. In a Palace neere the shore, the King entertayned Capralis, who had left Sancius Thoare with command of the Fleet, and after much complement, promised him more then he asked: Gave them free libertie of Trade, and Houses fitting thereto, the Patent or Charter being a Table of Gold, with Letters engraved, for perpetuall memorie. He gave them leave to erect the Banner of King Emanuel on their House top, as a Monument of his love to their Master. Hearing of a strong and well manned ship comming from Cochin to Cambaia, with a mightie and warly Elephant therein, he sent to entreat Capralis to take it, whereto he employed one of his smallest Vessels: whereat the King marvelled, having before set certaine Saracens or Mores of purpose to observe their behavior in that Enterprise, especially seeing the great ship chased to Cananor, about fortie miles North from Calicut, into *Melinde.* *Anchediva.* *Calicut.* [I. ii. 31.] *Cananor.*

which they compelled her the next day as Captive to returne.

This did but kindle the envy of the Mores, who to their wonted Arts added the fore-stalling the Market, and giving greater prices: so, that whereas they had beene promised lading in twentie dayes, they had expected three moneths, when meane time the Saracenicall ships were laden and gone, contrarie to their late League, which concluded them the first to be served. He sent notice to the King, who seemed to be offended with the Mores, giving them leave to lade themselves out of their ships, paying them their money layd out. Capralis fearing to execute this, by Correa the Cape Merchant was importuned; and one ship now setting sayle, was brought backe by them into the Haven, whereupon grew great broyles, the King seeming contented they should try it out betwixt them. They therefore with a companie of Nairos, on the seventeenth of December rush into the Portugall House, which Correa by a signe erected signifieth to the Fleet. He had with him seventie men against foure thousand; so that he with fiftie others were slaine: the rest were by the assistance of their fellowes in Boats conveyed aboord. Capralis then sick of a Quartane, and more of this disaster, perceiving the King conscious (a Fautor, if not Author) of this designe, assayled the next day ten great ships of the Mores, and slew six hundred of them, distributed the rest as slaves in their ships, and laded themselves with the goods, being forced for want of provision to kill three Elephants, and salt them for food. Which done, hee set the ships on fire, and that in the night, for greater terror. The morrow next he assaulted the Towne with Ordenance from his ships, and slew many, one of which a Courtier, at the Kings feet.

Warre begun twixt Mores and Portugals.

Cochin.

After this, Capralis went to Cochin, a hundred and seventie miles Southward, being a sure Haven. The King was then poore, and tributarie to Calecut. To him he sent an Indian Jogue, a begging Frier of that Bramene

Religion, which by the Portugall Friers had beene converted and baptized by the Name of Michael. The King promised all that they requested, and entertained them in a House fit for Trade. The Kings of Cananor and Coulam sent thither to them offer of League and Traffique. *Coulam.* But Capralis fixed here his Staple: where two Christians *Staple erected* of Cranganor, twentie miles distant, desired and obtayned *at Cochin.* of him to carry them into Portugall, that they might have a sight of Rome and Jerusalem.

Not long after, hee had newes of the King of Calicuts Fleet, of twentie great ships, and many small, with fifteene hundred men therein, sent to be revenged of the Portugals, which he went forth to assayle, but was scanted of Winde which they had, and willingly wanted, for feare of the Ordenance. So leaving two Factors at Cochin, and having taken in the rest of his freight at Cananor, he departed the sixteenth of January, and neere to Melinde tooke a ship, which perceiving it belonged to a More of Cambaia, hee dismissed, professing no quarrell in India, but to Calecut alone, and the Mores of Mecca. One of their ships was here wracked, the remainders whereof he burned, to prevent the enemies spoyle. He employed one of his ships in the search of Zophala, and returned with the rest to Lisbone, where he arrived the last of July, and was welcommed of the King, who had before sent three other ships on the same Voyage. And in the yeere *The third, and* following, 1502. hee sent Vascus Gama againe with ten *fourth, and* ships and Soderius with another Fleet, giving him com- *fift Voyages to* mission to make himselfe *Lord of the Sea, and to doe *India.* his utmost against the Mores. This consisted of fifteene **Commission* ships. Five others he sent under Stephen Gama, and so *to make them-* proceeded in his fortunes, that in a few yeeres he made *selves LL. of* himselfe Lord of the Indian Trade and Navigation, and *the Sea.* subdued the Kingdomes of Ormus, Goa, and Malacca, with other parts of the East, to the Portugall Scepter, to the great enriching of that State, and the Indian partakers; whereof Cochin hath from a poore estate arisen to greatnesse, and Calicut beene eclipsed.

But as those Spanish Westerne Discoveries and Acts, so these Easterne of the Portugals I leave to their owne Authors: such as for the former, are P. Martyr, Cieça, Viega, Oviedo, Herera, Gomara, Benzo, and the rest; and for the later, Barrius, Osorius, Maffæus, Castaneda, and others. I intend in this place onely to shew the beginning of Trade, and Navigation in both parts: and the occasion hence arising, of the first sayling round about the Globe.

[I. ii. 32.]

§. X.

Albuquerques Exploits, and the first knowledge of the Molucca's.

YE have heard of the Quarrell twixt Sivill and Lisbone, or the Castilian and Portugall compounded, each sharing a moitie of the World.

Molucca's. Some question grew of the Molucca's, after the discoverie of them by the Portugals, whether they appertayned to the Castilian or Lusitanian share. It is to be considered, that ten yeeres after Gama's discoverie, and ill usage at Calecut, the Portugalls sought all this time revenge, and in great part effected it, notwithstanding the Indian Potentates, the Ægyptian Sultans assistance (as long after the Turkes succeeding in that State and Quarrell) maintaining their Trade, and propagating their Sea and Land-Soveraigntie in those parts, although with some vicissitude of fortune, and with losse even this Summer of some of their principall Commanders: Almeida the late Viceroy basely perishing neere the Cape of Good Hope, by the hands of wilde Negros; Cotinius, whiles hee envyed any partner in the glory of taking the Kings Palace at Calecut, whiles Albuquerque set the Citie on fire, and permitting his souldiors to over-hastie pillage, losing his late-gotten purchase, and himselfe; and Albuquerque himselfe carryed away neere dead, with divers wounds.

Mass. l. 4. Whiles these things were done at Calecut, Didacus Lupius Sequeria was sent out of Portugall, to begin amitie

with Malacca: who was the first that having passed the Promontorie Cory, and sayling thorow the Bengalan or Gangetike Bay, touched on Sumatra, divided by a narrow and dangerous Strait from the Continent of Malacca, eyther being or supposed to bee in old times a Chersonessus or Pen-Insula (every where encompassed with Waves, but by one Neck of Land fastened to the Maine) and called as some will have (though others ascribe it to Malacca and the Siam Kingdome) Aurea, or the Golden, being indeed rich in Gold, and other Metals, as this ensuing Historie will shew.

Malacca. *Cape Cory.* *G. of Bengala.* *Sumatra.* *Chryse, or Aurea Chersonessus.*

Sequeria having here made League with the Kings of Pedir and Achen, and erected such Stone Pillars as before are mentioned, in both places, as Monuments thereof, passed to Malacca, where hee received great kindnesse of Mamudius a Mahumetan, which had usurped that State by force from the Siamite, who yet as the Samorin, or King of Calecut, by the Mores was altered, and sought by Treason to murther the Portugals, and seize on their ships. For pretending, after League confirmed, to entertayne him in a Feast, Sequeria having intelligence, excused himselfe by sicknesse: whereupon hee offered extraordinarie favour to lade his ships (contrarie to the custome of that Port) before all those which had beene there before them, which must bee carryed closely, for feare of disgust and mutinie of other Merchants; which Sequeria accepted thankfully, and sent his men to divers places assigned. Patiacus, the sonne of Utimutis, the next man in Malacca after the King, was sent aboord to complement with him, till a signe given by smoake from a certaine place, should at once arme the rest in other places, and him on shipboord to sudden and unexpected slaughter. It happened, that Sequeria, at Patiacus his comming, was at Chesse; which he dissemblingly willed him to continue, that he might observe our difference from them in that Play. But whiles hee waited the smoake, others of Malacca had not that patience, but misorderly began their furie, which was espyed from the ship tops by a Mariner, who cryed

Mores trechetie at Malacca. *Chesse-play in India.*

Treason: whereupon they running to their Armes, the Malaccans leaped over boord, and they sent some to helpe their fellowes, whiles the rest cut their Cables, to have Sea-roome for their Ship-fights, and by terror of their Ordenance easily chased the Navie, set purposely to assayle them. But of those on shore, fortie were slaine, and more captived, which ministred just cause of quarrell to their Countreymen, whom Sequeria had sent notice hereof, himselfe passing directly to the Cape, and so to Lisbone.

Ormuz tributarie to Portugall.

Albuquerque had now recovered of his wounds, and minded to recover Ormuz, the King whereof had before acknowledged Vassallage to King Emanuel, with fifteene thousand Serafines of Gold yeerely tribute, and leave to the Portugals to erect there a Fort; which the slacknesse first, and after that, open mutinie of his owne men, had frustrated; Zeifadin the King having intelligence thereof, and thereby taking occasion to shake off the Portugall yoake. Hee pretended feare of Ismael the Persian Xa, or Sophi, whose tributarie he was, but was regayned afterwards (it was the last Act of Albuquerques Life) and the Persian also not discontented, yea, sending an Embassadour to treat of Peace, as having their Actions in admiration. But at this time having collected a Fleet of one and twentie sayle, in his way thither was intercepted by the opportunitie of Goa, whose Prince Zabaius, in the midst of his preparations against the Portugals, was lately dead, leaving his young sonne Idalcan as full of troubles, as emptie of experience. Timoia, a famous Pyrate, and Lord of an Iland not farre off, gave this intelligence, with proffer of his best assistance therein: Whereupon a suddaine Siege, and surprize thereof, was made, upon Conditions; the Portugals wondering to see themselves so easily Lords of such Wealth. But Idalcan with force and famine soone expelled them; which yet, not long after, they recovered, to the great honour of that Nation in those parts.

Bar. Dec. 2. l. 10. Mass. l. 4. in fine. See Bar. Dec. 2. l. 5, 6, & 7. Osor. de reb. Em. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Goa wonne and lost, and recovered againe.

[I. ii. 33.]

Red Sea.

Intending next to enter the Red Sea, the Northwest Windes repelled this victorious Generall or Vice-roy from

that attempt, but offered faire oportunitie for Malacca, which he readily apprehended: and first demanded his Prisoners of Mamudius, which hee sayd were fled; but seeing his Towne on fire, was forced to present unto him. And when his Conditions demanded seemed great, namely, the charges of both Fleets, and restitution of things lost; Mamudius was animated by some, rather to defend himselfe by Warre: the effect whereof, was the losse of that pettie Kingdome, and of himselfe with griefe. *Malacca won.*

In the way thither, Albuquerque had met with some ships lately come from thence, which he assaulted and tooke: in which prelude of a greater Warre, this happened remarkable, That Naodabeguea, one of those which had before conspired against Sequeria, received divers wounds, by which at last hee fell, but neyther Bloud nor Soule issued, which both, as from a broken Vessell, suddenly fled, after a gold Chayne was taken from his arme. The cause, they learned to be a Bone of a Beast called Cabis, in the Countrey of Siam, which being included in that Chayne, included the bloud also, those open passages notwithstanding. This Jewell was sent into Portugall for a raritie, but perished by shipwracke in the way. *A Chayne of strange vertue. Cabis, a strange Beast.*

The victorie at Malacca spread the Portugall fame, caused Leagues and Legates of divers Nations; and occasioned their search and discoverie of the Ilands of Amboino, Banda, and the Molucca's. Yea, the Samorin of Calecut, and Idalcan himselfe sought their amitie, and the Negus of Abassia or Prester John sent an Embassador into Portugall. The King of Maldiva became Vassall to King Emanuel. Antonius Abreus was employed for the Molucca's: which first came to Java, then to Amboino, setting his Stone Pillars in both places: next to Banda, the name of divers Ilands, where Nutmegs and Mace onely, for ought then knowne, in all the World, did grow. The fame of Malacca had pierced hither, and prepared easie Conditions to a League; as also to the Molucca's: where the two emulous Kings of Ternate and Tidore were ambitious which should first winne them to their side; *Amboino, Banda, Molucca's.* *Maldiva.*

their mutuall Quarrels opening a ready advantage to the Portugals, by taking part with one to make his best of both.

These Quarrels they have transmitted to their Posteritie; and even at this day the Hollander taking part with the one, and the Spaniard (who hath here succeeded the Portugall) with the other, out of their evils gather benefit to themselves. So foolish, and not impious alone, is Strife, that besides mutuall mischiefes to and by each other, they expose themselves to forraine both scorne and gayne.

Chap. II.

Of Fernandus Magalianes: The occasion of his Voyage, and the particulars of the same, with the compassing of the World by the Ship called San Victoria; gathered out of *Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian of Vicenza, who was one in the said Circum-Navigation, as also from divers other Authors.

**Pigafetta's Booke is extant in Ramusio's first Tome; and a great part thereof Englished by R. Eden, to which here is added other necessary parts thereof, out of Ram. his Copy.*

NE which served under Albuquerque in these victorious Warres, was Fernandus Magalianes, a Portugall, a Gentleman of great spirit: who having made good and manyfold proofe of his valour and value both in Africa and India, and being rejected in a suit to the King, for augmenting his stipend halfe a Duckat a moneth; conceiving deepe indignation hereat, he renounced his allegeance to his Master King Emanuel, and betooke himselfe to the Court of Castile, with Ruy Falero, a professed Astrologer (the Portugals say, a Conjurer) and acquainted the Emperour, that the Ilands of Banda and of the Molucca's (the one the onely Store-house of Nature for Nutmegs and Mace, the other for Cloves) appertained to him, by that Division which King John the second and King Ferdinand and Isabel

Osor. l. 11. Mass. l. 8. Magal. Voyage translated out of Portug. Ma. Transylvano Epist. ad Ramus. Herera. Dec. 2. l. 9. c. 10. Lop. Vaz. &c.

of Castile had agreed on, that is, to the Westerne moitie of the World, from the prescribed Limits before mentioned. And with a bold and admirable attempt, offered also by the West to discover these rich Ilands of Spicerie.

The Portugall Authors speake here nothing but Treason, and cry out upon him as a Traitor, for sowing Seeds likely to produce Warre twixt Castile and Portugall: Nor doe I, in those things, undertake to justifie him. But out of his whatsoever evill, God produced this good to the World, that it was first by his meanes sayled round: Nor was his neglect of his Countrey neglected, [I. ii. 34.] or revengefull mind unrevenged, as the sequele manifesteth, by his untimely and violent death.

Five ships were furnished at the Emperors command: the Trinitie Admirall, Stephen Gomes a Portugall, Pilot; of San Victoria, was Luys de Mendoza Captaine; John de Cartagena of the ship S. Antonio; John Serran of the ship S. Iago; and Gaspar de Quexada of the ship Conception: Magalianes himselfe being made Generall. The whole companie was two hundred thirtie seven, or (as some say) two hundred and fiftie; of which, thirtie were Portugals. On the tenth of August, 1519. they departed from Sivill; the six and twentieth of September they arrived at Tenarife; the third of October they sayled betwixt the Ilands and Cape Verde. They sayled many dayes in the sight of the Coast of Guinea, and had a great calme seventie dayes, which they spent in attaining the Line.

They lost the sight of the North starre.

When they had sayled past the Equinoctiall Line, they lost the sight of the North starre, and sayled by the South-west, untill they came to a Land named Brasilia, being two and twentie degrees and a halfe toward the South Pole or Pole Antartike. This Land is continuate, and one firme Land with the Cape of Saint Augustine, which is eight degrees from the Equinoctiall. In this Land they were refreshed with many good Fruits of innumerable kindes, and found here also very good Sugar Canes, and divers kindes of Beasts and other things, which I omit for brevitie.

The Iland of Brasile.

The South Pole.

Sugar.

They departed from this Land, and sayled to the foure and twentieth degree and a halfe, toward the Pole Antartike, where they found a great River of fresh Water, and *Canibals.* certaine Canibals. Of these, they saw one out of their *Giants.* ships, of stature as big as a Giant, having a voyce like a Bull. Our men pursued them, but they were so swift of foot, that they could not overtake them. About the *Insule Gemmarum.* mouth of this River are seven Ilands, in the biggest whereof they found certaine precious Stones, and called *Cap. S. Marie.* it the Cape of Saint Mary. The Spaniards thought, that by this River they might have passed into the South Sea: But they were deceived in their opinion; for there was none other passage then by the River, which is seventeene Leagues large in the mouth.

Thus following this Coast by the tract of the Land *The Pole Antartike.* toward the Pole Antartike, they came to a place where *Pengwins and Seales.* were two Ilands replenished with Pengwins and Seales. These were in such number, that in an houre all the five ships might have beene laden with Pengwins, being all of blacke colour, and such as cannot flye. They live of Fish, and are so fat, that they could scarcely slay them. They have no feathers, but a certaine Downe, and their bylls like Ravens bylls. Here were they in great danger by Tempest; But as soone as the three Fires, called Saint Helen, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clare, appeared upon the Cables of the ships, suddenly the tempest and furie of the Windes ceased.

The 49. degree of the South Pole. Departing from hence, they sayled to the nine and fortieth degree and a halfe, under the Pole Antartike: where being Wintered, they were inforced to remayne there for the space of two moneths, all which time they saw no man, except that one day by chance they espyed *Giants.* a man of the stature of a Giant, who came to the Haven dancing and singing, and shortly after seemed to cast dust over his head. The Captaine sent one of his men to the shore with the ship Boat, who made the like signe of peace. The which thing the Giant seeing, was out of feare, and came with the Captaines servant to his presence

into a little Iland. When hee saw the Captaine with certaine of his companie about him, hee was greatly amazed, and made signes, holding up his hand to Heaven, signifying thereby, that our men came from thence. This Giant was so big, that the head of one of our men, of a meane stature, came but to his Waste. He was of good corporature, and well made in all parts of his body, with a large Visage, painted with divers colours, but for the most part yellow. Upon his Cheekes were painted two Harts, and red Circles about his Eyes. The Hayre of his Head was coloured white, and his Apparrell was the Skinne of a Beast sowed together. This Beast (as seemed unto us) had a large head, and great eares like unto a Mule, with the body of a Cammell, and tayle of a Horse. The feet of the Giant were foulded in the said Skinne, after the manner of shooes. He had in his hand a big and short Bowe, the String whereof was made of a sinew of that Beast. He had also a Bundell of long Arrowes, made of Reedes, feathered after the manner of ours, typt with sharpe stones in the stead of Iron heads. The Captaine caused him to eat and drinke, and gave him many things, and among other, a great Looking-Glasse: In the which, as soone as he saw his owne likenesse, hee was suddenly afraid, and started backe with such violence, that he overthrew two that stood neerest about him. When the Captaine had thus given him certaine Hawkes Bells, and other great Bells, with a Looking-Glasse, a Combe, and a payre of Beads of Glasse, he sent him to land with foure of his owne men well armed.

The bignesse of the Giants.

Shortly after, they saw another Giant, of somewhat greater stature, with his Bowe and Arrowes in his hand. As hee drew neere unto our men, he layd his hand on his head, and pointed up toward Heaven, and our men did the like. The Captaine sent his ship Boat, to bring him to a little Iland, being in the Haven. This Giant was very tractable, and pleasant. Hee sung and danced, and in his dancing, left the print of his feet on the ground. Hee remayned long with our men, who named him John. [I. ii. 35.]

Another Giant.

Hee could well speake, and plainely pronounce these words, Jesus, Ave Maria, Johannes, even as wee doe, but with a bigger voyce. The Captaine gave him a Shirt of Linnen Cloth, and a Coat of white Woollen Cloth; also a Cap, a Combe, a Looking-Glasse, with divers such other things, and so sent him to his companie. The day following hee resorted againe to the shippes, and brought with him one of those great Beasts, which hee gave the Captaine. But after that day they never saw him more, supposing him to be slaine of his owne company, for the conversation he had with our men.

Foure other Giants.

After other fifteene dayes were past, there came foure other Giants without any Weapons, but had hid their Bowes and Arrowes in certaine Bushes. The Captaine retayned two of these, which were youngest and best made.

Two Giants are taken by a policie.

Hee tooke them by a deceit; giving them Knyves, Sheeres, Looking-Glasses, Bells, Beades of Crystall, and such other Trifles, hee so filled their hands, that they could hold no more: then caused two payre of shackles of Iron to bee put on their legges, making signes, that hee would also give them those Chaynes; which they liked very well, because they were made of bright and shining metall. And whereas they could not carry them, because their hands were full, the other Giants would have carryed them: but the Captaine would not suffer them. When they felt the shackles fast about their legges, they began to doubt: but the Captaine did put them in comfort, and bad them stand still. In fine, when they saw how they were deceived, they roared like Bulls, and cryed upon their great Devill Setebos, to helpe them. Being thus taken, they were immediately separate and put in sundry shippes. They could never binde the hands of the other two: yet was one of them with much difficultie overthrowne by nine of our men, and his hands bound; but he suddenly loosed himselfe, and fled, as did also the other that came with them. In their flying, they shot off their Arrowes, and slew one of our men. They say, that when any of them die, there appeare ten or twelve Devils, leaping and

The Devill Setebos.

Devils appeare to the Giants when they die.

dancing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies painted with divers colours, and that among other, there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoycing. This great Devill they call Setebos, and call the lesse Cheleule. One of these Giants which they tooke, declared by signes, that hee had seene Devils with two hornes above their heads, with long hayre downe to their feet; and that they cast forth fire at their throats both before and behind. The Captaine named these people Patagoni. The most part of them weare the Skinnes of such Beasts whereof I have spoken before: and have no Houses of continuance, but make certaine Cottages, which they cover with the said Skinnes, and carry them from place to place. They live of raw Flesh and a certaine sweet Root, which they call Capar. They are very jealous of their Women. When they are sicke at the stomacke, they put an Arrow halfe a yard or more downe the Throat, which makes them vomit greene choler and bloud. For head-ach, they make a cut over the for-head, and let themselves bloud. The like they doe on the arme, or legge, in any Aches. They cut their hayre like Friers, but a little longer, and binde it with a Cotton hayre-lace. By reason of Cold in those parts, they trusse up themselves so, as the genitall member is hidden within the body. One of these which they had in their shippes, did eate at one meale a Basket of Bisket, and drunke a Bowle of Water at a draught.

Patagoni.

The Giants feeding.

They remayned five moneths in this Port of Saint Julian; where certaine of the under Captaines conspiring the death of their Generall, were hanged and quartered: among whom, the Treasurer Luigo of Mendozza was one. Certaine of the other Conspirators he left in the said Land of Patagoni; namely, John de Cartagena, and a Priest. They erected there a Crosse, in token of possession.

They conspire against their Captaine.

Departing from hence to the two and fiftieth degree, toward the Pole Antartike, lacking a third part, they found a River of fresh Water and good Fish. Their shippes were here in great danger. They remayned two

moneths in this Port, where they made new provision of fresh Water, Fuell, and Fish. Here the Captaine caused all his men to be confessed. Approching to the two and fiftie degrees, they found the Strait now called the Strait of Magellanus, being in some place a hundred and ten Leagues in length, and in bredth somewhere very large, and in other places little more then halfe a League in bredth. On both the sides of this Strait, are great and high Mountaines covered with Snow, beyond the which, is the entrance into the Sea of Sur. This entrance the Captaine named Mare Pacificum. Here one of the ships, Saint Antonio, stole away privily, and returned into Spaine: In this was one of the Giants, who died as soone as he felt the heat that is about the Equinoctiall Line.

Confession.
The Strait of Magellanus.
The South Sea.
Mare Pacificum.
The Giants died for heat.

When the Captaine Magalianes was past the Strait, and saw the way open to the other maine Sea, hee was so glad thereof, that for joy the teares fell from his eyes, and named the point of the Land from whence he first saw that Sea, Capo Desiderato. Supposing that the ship which stole away, had beene lost, they erected a Crosse upon the top of a high Hill, to direct their course in the Strait, if it were their chance to come that way.

Capo Desiderato.

They found, that in this Strait, in the moneth of October, the Night was not past foure houres long. They found in this Strait, at every three miles, a safe Haven, and excellent Water to drinke; Wood also, and Fish, and great plentie of good Herbes. They thinke, that there is not a fairer Strait in the World. Here also they saw certaine flying Fishes.

Short nights in the moneth of October.

[I. ii. 36.]

Flying Fishes.

The other Giant which remayned with them in the ship, named Bread, Capar; Water, Oli; red Cloth, Cherecai; red colour, Cheiche; blacke colour, Amel: And spoke all his words in the throat. On a time, as one made a Crosse before him, and kissed it, shewing it unto him, hee suddenly cried Setebos, and declared by signes, that if they made any more Crosses, Setebos would enter into his body, and make him burst. But when in fine hee saw no hurt come thereof, hee tooke the Crosse, and embraced and

The Giants Language.

kissed it oftentimes, desiring, that hee might bee a Christian before his death. Hee was therefore baptized, and named Paul. *The Giant is baptized.*

Departing out of this Strait into the Sea called Mare Pacificum, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the yeere 1520. they sayled three moneths and twentie dayes before they saw any Land: and having in this time consumed all their Bisket and other Victuals, they fell into such necessitie, that they were inforced to eate the powder that remayned thereof, being now full of Wormes, and stinking like Pisse, by reason of the salt Water. Their fresh Water was also putrified, and became yellow. They did eate Skinnes and pieces of Leather, which were foulded about certaine great Ropes of the shippes: but these Skinnes being made very hard, by reason of the Sunne, Raine, and Winde, they hung them by a Cord in the Sea, for the space of foure or five dayes, to mollifie them, and sod them, and ate them. By reason of this Famine, and uncleane feeding, some of their gummes grew so over their teeth, that they died miserably for hunger. And by this occasion died nineteene men, and also the Giant, with an Indian of the Land of Brasile, otherwise called Terra de Papagalli, that is, the Land of Popingayes. Beside these that died, five and twentie or thirtie were so sick, that they were not able to doe any service with their hands or armes for feeblenesse: so that there was in manner none without some Disease.

Three moneths sayling without the sight of Land.

Extreme Famine.

Diseases of Famine.

In these three moneths and twentie dayes, they sayled foure thousand Leagues in one Gulfe, by the said Sea called Pacificum, that is, peaceable: which may well be so called, forasmuch as in all this time having no sight of any Land, they had no misfortune of Winde, or any other Tempest. During this time also, they discovered onely two little Ilands unhabited, where they saw nothing but Birds and Trees, and therefore named them infortunate Ilands, being one from the other about two hundred Leagues distant. The first of these Ilands, is from the Equinoctiall toward the Pole Antartike fifteene degrees,

Unfortunate Ilands.

and the other five. Their sayling was in such sort, that they sayled dayly betweene fiftie, threescore, to seventie Leagues. So that in fine, if God of his mercie had not given them good Weather, it was necessarie, that in this so great a Sea they should all have died for hunger.

What they sayled dayly.

They considered in this Navigation, that the Pole Antartike hath no notable starre, after the sort of the Pole Artike. But they saw many starres gathered together, which are like two Clouds, one separate a little from another, and somewhat darke in the middest. Betweene these, are two starres, not very big, nor much shining, which move a little: and these two are the Pole Antartike.

The starres about the South Pole.

The Needle of their Compas varied somewhat, and turned ever toward the Pole Artike; nevertheless, had no such force, as when it is in these parts of the Pole Artike: Insomuch, that it was necessarie to helpe the Needle with the Load-stone, before they could sayle therewith, because it moved not, as it doth when it is in these our parts. When they were in the middest of the Gulfe, they saw a Crosse of five cleare starres, directly toward the West, and of equall distance the one from the other.

The Needle of the Compas.

The Load-stone.

In these dayes they sayled between the West and South so farre, that they approched to the Equinoctiall Line, and were in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, a hundred and twentie degrees. In this course they sayled by two Ilands of exceeding height, whereof the one named Cipanghu, is twentie degrees from the Pole Antartike; and the other named Sumbdit, fifteene degrees. When they were past the Equinoctiall Line, they sayled betweene the West and Southwest, at the quarter of the West, toward the Southwest more then a hundred Leagues, changing their sayles to the quarter of the Southwest, untill they came to the thirteene degrees above the Equinoctiall, toward the Pole Artike, intending as much as were possible, to approch to the Cape called of the old Writers Cattigara: the which is not found as the old

The Equinoctiall Line.

The Ilands of Cipanghu and Sumbdit.

Cosmographers have described it, but it is toward the North about twelve degrees, as they afterwards understood.

When they had thus sayled seventie Leagues of this Voyage, in the twelfth degree above the Equinoctiall, and a hundred fortie six degrees of Longitude (as I have said) the sixt day of March they discovered a little Iland toward the Northwest, and two other toward the Southwest; but the one was higher and bigger then the other. In the biggest of these, the Generall would have rested himselfe a while, but he could not, by reason the people of these Ilands resorted continually to the ships with their Canoas, and stole now one thing, and now another, in such sort, that our men could take no rest; and therefore demanded of the Captaine, that they might strike their sayles, to bring the shippes to Land. But the Generall being provoked to anger, went aland with fortie armed [I. ii. 37.] men, and burnt about fiftie of their Houses, with many of their Canoas, and slew also about seven men, and recovered a shippe-boat which the Barbarians had stolne; and so departed, following his Voyage. Hee named these Ilands, Insulæ Latronum, that is, the Ilands of Theeves. *Insula Latronum.* When our men had so wounded some of them with Arrowes, that they were stricken through both sides, they pulled forth the Arrowes, not ceasing to marvell at them, till they fell downe dead: And yet could not the other so depart, but still followed the shippes with more then two hundred of their Boats, approaching as neere to the shippes as they could, and proffering our men certaine Fishes. As the shippes passed with full sayle in the middest of their Boats, they saw in some of them certaine Women, lamenting and tearing their hayre, which our men thought they did for the death of their Husbands. As farre as they could perceive, these people live at their owne libertie, without any Ruler or Governour. They goe naked, and *People with long hayre.* some of them have blacke Beards, and blacke hayre on their heads, which they weare long, downe to their Wastes. They are of the same stature that wee are, and are well

made, of colour like unto an Olive. Their Women are well-favoured, with black and thicke hayre on their heads, reaching to the ground. They weare also, for a covering before their privities, the inner barke of the Palme-tree; are whiter then the men, and seldome goe out of doores, but at home make Mats and Nets of the Palme-tree, and other House-hold necessaries. Some of the men weare Bonnets on their heads of Palme-tree. They colour their teeth red and blacke, which they esteeme a comely thing. Their food, is Cocos and Battatas, Birds, Figges, a hand-full long, Sugar-Canes, flying Fishes, and other things. They anoynt their bodies and head with the Oyle of Cocos. Their Boats are some all blacke, some white, and some red, and have Sayles made of the broad Leaves of Date-trees, sowed together. In the stead of a Rudder, they use a certaine broad Boord, with a staffe in the top, and may when they will, make the Sterne the Fore-Castle, or the Fore-Castle the Sterne. They sayle so swiftly, that they seeme a farre off like Dolphins swimming above the Water. Their Houses are made of Timber, covered with Boords, and Leaves of Figge-tree, a yard long: They have a Hall, Windowes, and Chambers. They have Palme-Mats for Bed-furniture, and sleepe on Palme Leaves, which are soft. Their Weapons are Clubs or Poles, with a Horne head.

The Iland of Zamal.

The tenth day of March, in the yeere 1521. they went aland upon a little Iland, named Zamal, thirtie Leagues distant from the Iland of Theeves. The next day hee went on shore on another Iland, not inhabited: they rested here a while, where the Captaine caused a Pavillion to be pitched for the sicke and crazed men, and a Hogge to be killed. The Iland was called Humunu, and hath two cleare Springs, and Gold and white Corall, and many Fruit-trees. They gave it the name of Good Signes.

The eighteenth day of March, they saw a Boat with nine men comming toward them, shewing themselves joy-full, and rejoycing of their comming. They brought many presents with them, and seemed to be people of

much humanitie. They gave the Captaine a great Fish, and a great Vessell of the Wine of those Date-trees, which beare the Fruit Cocus. They made also signes, that within the space of foure dayes they would bring Rice, and divers Fowles and Beasts, as they did indeed.

Wine of Date-trees.

This Cocus is a Fruit of certaine Date-trees, whereof they make Bread, Wine, Oyle, and Vineger. They make Wine in this manner: They cut a bigge branch of the Tree, and hang thereat a Reede as bigge as a mans Legge, into the which droppeth a sweet Liquor from the Tree, like unto white Wine, somewhat tart, and let the Reed continue there from Morning till Evening, and from Evening to Morning. The fruit of this Tree, called Cocus, is as bigge as the head of a man, or more. The first Rynde of this, is greene, and of the thicknesse of two fingers, having in it certaine Threds, whereof they make Cords, with the which they tye their Boats. Under this Rynde there is a thicke shell, which they burne and make powder thereof, and use it as a remedie for certaine Diseases. Under this shell, is a white substance, like the kernell of a Nut, being a finger in thicknesse, which they eate with Flesh and Fish, as wee doe Bread. It hath the taste of an Almond, and is used in the stead of Bread, when it is dryed. In the middest of this kernell, is a cleare and sweet Water, being very holesome and cordiall. This Water sometime congealeth, and lyeth within the shell like an Egge. When they intend to make Oyle hereof, they lay it to putrifie in Water, and boyle it untill it be like Oyle or liquid Butter. When they intend to make Vineger, they suffer onely the Water to putrifie, and then set it to the Sunne, where it becommeth Vineger, like unto that which is made of white Wine. And when they mingle the kernell with the Water which is in the middest of the Fruit, and strayne it through a Cloth, they make a Milke thereof, like unto Goates Milke. These Date-trees are like unto them that beare Dates, but are not so full of knots. With the juice of two of these Date-trees, a whole family of tenne persons may be maintayned with

The marvelous fruit Cocus.

Wine, using one eight dayes, and the other, other eight dayes; for they should else be dryed and wythered. These Trees continue for the space of an hundred yeeres. This Iland, where they found this humane and gentle people, is called Zulvan, and is not very bigge.

The Island of Zulvan. [I. ii. 38.]

They invited the Generall to their Boats, in which were their Merchandize, viz. Cloves, Cinnamon, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Mace, Gold made in divers things, which they carry to and fro with their Barkes. Hee had them also aboord the ship, and caused a peece of Ordenance to be shot off; which terrified them so, that they were ready to leape over-boord: but he appeased them, and gave them gifts. The two and twentieth of March they brought Oranges, and a Cocke, and Cocos, with Palme-Wine, in two Barkes. The men were naked, had two Gold Rings at their eares, and many Jewels fastened with Gold to their armes. With these Cocos they refreshed their sicke men. They told of people in neere Ilands, with eares downe to their armes. They had Daggers, Knives, and Lances garnished with Gold.

The Sea called Archipelago di San Lazaro: this name Archipelago, is given to Seas full of Ilands.

About this Iland they found many other Ilands, and therefore named this Sea Archipelago di San Lazaro, that is, the great Sea of Saint Lazarus, being tenne degrees above the Equinoctiall toward our Pole, and a hundred threescore and one from the place from whence they departed. The people of this Iland are Gentiles. They goe naked, saving that they cover their privie parts with a Cloth made of the rynde of a certaine Tree. The chiefest men have about their heads a silken Cloth of Needleworke. They are gross and broad set, and of the colour of an Olive. They annoynt their bodies with the Oyle of Cocus, to defend them against the heat of the Sunne, and drynesse of the Winde. The five and twentieth day of March they departed from hence, and directed their course betweene the West and South-west, and sayled betweene foure Ilands, named Cenalo, Huinanghan, Hibusson, and Abarien, &c.

Gentiles.

Foure Ilands.

The eight and twentieth day of March they came to the

Iland of Buthuan, where they were honourably entertayned of the King and the Prince his sonne, who gave them much Gold and Spices. The Captaine gave the King a Vesture of red Cloth, and another of yellow, made after the Turkish fashion, and also a red Cap: and gave likewise to other that came with him, certaine Knyves, Glasses, and Beades of Crystall. After that the Captaine had shewed the King the secrets of his ship, and such Merchandize as hee had therein, hee caused a piece of Ordenance suddenly to be shot off, whereat the King was greatly amazed, untill the Captaine comforted him. Then the Captaine commanded one of his men to be armed from the head to the foot, and caused three other to strike him with their Swords: whereat the King marvelled greatly, and said to the Interpretor (who was a slave borne in Malacca) that one of those armed men was able to encounter with a hundred of his men. But hee marvelled much more, when the Captaine told him by the Interpretor, how he found the Strait by the Compas and Loadstone, and how many dayes they were without sight of any Land. Then asking licence to depart, the Captaine sent two of his men with him, of the which, Antonie Pigafetta was one. When they came on Land, the King lifted his hands to the Skie, and after that, towards the two Christians: these did the like, and all the companie after them. The like ceremonie they used in drinking one to another. The Kings Pallace was like a Hay-house, covered with Palme and Fig-leaves, built on high Timbers aloft, that they mounted thereunto on Ladders. They sit at meat crosse-legged, like Taylors. They make Light in the Night with a gumme of a Tree, wrapped in leaves of Palme-tree. When the King saw Antonie Pigafetta write the names of many things, and afterward rehearsed them againe, he marvelled yet more, making signes, that such men descended from Heaven. The King brought them first to his Pallace, where he entertayned them honorably, and gave them many gifts, as did also the Prince in his Pallace, being in another Iland named Caleghan.

The Iland of Buthuan.

The Iland of Caleghan.

As they sifted a certaine Myne of Earth in the Kings Iland, they found pieces of Gold some as bigge as Nuts, and other as bigge as Egges. All the Kings Vessels were of Gold, and his House well furnished. In all the whole Nation there was no man of comelyer personage then the King: Hee had his hayre long, downe to his shoulders, and very blacke, with a vaile of Silke rouled about his head, and two great Rings of Gold hanging at his eares. He had about his middle a Cloth wrought of Cotton and Silke, impaled with Gold, and reaching downe to his knees. On his one side, hee had a long dagger with a Haft of Gold, and the sheathe of a faire kind of carved Wood. Hee had on every finger three Rings of Gold, and had his body anoynted with Oyle of Storax and Benjamin. The naturall colour of his face was like unto the colour of an Olive; and all his body beside painted with divers colours. The Kings name was Raja Colambu, and the Prince was called Raja Siagu. They easily understood each other, by meanes of a slave which they carryed with them, taken before at Sumatra. One man offred for six threds of Crystall Beades a Crowne of massie Gold, with a Collar: but the Generall would not permit such bartering, that they should not perceive more account to be made of their Gold by the one, then by the other of the Spanish Wares. The people are nimble, naked, painted. The Women goe clothed from the Waste downewards, with their long blacke hayre hanging to the ground. They weare eare-rings of Gold in divers formes. They alway are chewing Arecca, a certaine Fruit like a Peare, cut in quarters, and rolled up in leaves of a Tree called Bettre (or Vetele) like Bay leaves; which having chewed, they spit forth. It makes the mouth red. They say they doe it to comfort the heart, nor could live without it.

Plentie of Gold.

The King of Buthuan.

[I. ii. 39.] The Captaine or Generall caused a Crosse to be brought forth, with Nayles, and a Crowne of Thornes, giving commandement to all his men to give reverence thereunto, and signifying to the Kings, by the Interpreter, that that Banner was given him by the Emperour, his Lord and

Master, with commandement to leave the same in all places where hee came, to the great commoditie and profit of all such as would reverendly receive it, as an assured token of friendship: and that hee would therefore leave it there, as well to accomplish his Lords commandement, as also, that if at any time any ships of Christians should chance to come that way, they might, by seeing that Crosse, perceive that our men had beene well entertayned there, and would therefore not onely abstayne from doing them any hurt or displeasure, but also helpe to ayde them against their enemies: And that therefore it should be requisite to erect that Crosse upon the top of the highest Mountaine that might be seene from the Sea on every side; also to pray unto it reverently: and that in so doing, they should not be hurt with Thunder, Lightning, and Tempests. When the Kings heard these words, they gave the Captaine great thankes, promising gladly to observe and fulfill all such things as he required. Then the Captaine demanded, whether they were Mores or Gentiles? They answered, that they had none other kind of Religion, but that lifting up their hands joyned together, and their faces toward Heaven, they called upon their God Abba. Which answere liked the Captaine very well, because the Gentiles are sooner perswaded to our Faith then the Mores.

Mores and Gentiles.

Departing from hence, they came to the Ilands of Zeilon, Zubut, Messana, and Calaghan, by the conduct of certaine Pilots of the said Kings. Of these, Zubut is the best, and hath the Trade of best Traffique. In the Iland of Messana they found Dogges, Cats, Hogges, Hennes, Goates, Ryse, Gynger, Cocus, Myll, Panicke, Barly, Figges, Oranges, Waxe, and Gold, in great quantitie. This Iland is above the Equinoctiall toward our Pole nine degrees, and two third parts, and a hundred threescore and two degrees from the place from whence they departed. They remayned in this Iland for the space of eight dayes, and then directed their Voyage toward the Northwest, and passed betweene these five Ilands, Zeilon, Bohol,

Many Ilands.

The Iland of Messana.

Canghu, Barbai, and Catighan. In this Iland of Catighan are certaine great Bats, as bigge as Eagles, of the which they tooke one: they are good to be eaten, and of taste much like a Henne. There are also Stock-doves, Turtle-doves, Popingayes, and certaine Fowles as bigge as Hennes: these Fowles have little hornes, and lay great egges, which they cover a cubit depth in the Sand, by the heat whereof, and vertue of the Sunne, they are hatched, and the young Birds creepe out of the Sand by themselves. From the Iland of Messana to Catighan, are twentie Leagues, sayling toward the West. And because the King of Messana could not follow the ships, they tarryed for him about the Ilands of Polo, Ticobon, and Fozon, where the Captaine tooke him into his ship, with certaine of his principall men, and so followed their Voyage toward the Iland of Zubut, which is about fiftie Leagues distant from Catighan.

Bats as big as Eagles.

Fowles with hornes.

Egges hatched in Sand.

The seventh day of Aprill, about Noone, they entred into the Port of Zubut: and passing by many Villages and Habitations in Trees, they came to the Citie, where the Captaine gave commandement to the Mariners to strike their sayles, and to set themselves in order, in manner of Battell-ray, causing all the Ordenance to be shot off, wherewith all the people were put in great feare. After this, the Captaine sent an Embassadour with the Interpreter to the King of Zubut.

The Iland of Zubut.

When they approched neere to the Citie, they found the King with a great companie of men sore astonyed at the noyse of the Gunnes. But the Interpreter advertised them, that it was the custome of our men, in all such places where they come, to discharge their Ordenance in token of friendship, and to honour the Lord of the Citie. With which words the King and his companie were well quieted. After this, the Interpreter declared, that his Master was the Captaine of the shippes of the greatest Prince in the World, and that they went to discover the Ilands of Molucca: And further, that hearing of his good name and fame, by the report of the King of Messana,

they determined to visite him, and to have Victuals for exchange of their Merchandize. The King answered, that he was well content therewith, and that they were heartily welcome: Neverthelesse, that it was a custome in that place, that all such ships as entred into that Haven, should pay tribute: And that there were not many dayes past, since a ship laden with Gold and Slaves, did so pay. *A shippe laden with Gold and Slaves.* In token whereof, hee caused to come before him certaine Merchants of that companie, which yet remayned with him. To this the Interpreter answered, That for as much as his Lord was the Captaine of so mightie a Prince, he never payd tribute to any King in the World, and would not now begin: Willing him to take this for a resolute answere, That if he would accept the Peace that was proffered him, hee should enjoy it; and if hee rather desired Warre, hee should have his hands full. When the Interpreter had said these words, one of the said Merchants (who was a More) spake to the King in this manner, Catacaia Chita; that is, Take heede Sir: For these men are they that have conquered Calecut, Malacha, and all *Calecut. Malacha.* the greater India, and are of such power, that if you entreat them otherwise then well, you may too late know what they are able to doe, more then they have done at Calecut and Malacca. When the Interpreter heard these words, hee said, That the King his Lord was of much [I. ii. 40.] greater puissance, and more Dominions, and Lord of more shippes then was the King of Portugall: declaring further, that hee was King of Spaine, and Emperour of all Christendome. Adding hereunto, that if hee would not be his friend, hee would hereafter send thither such a power of armed men as should destroy his Countrey. The More conferred all these words with the King, who said, That hee would further deliberate with his Councell, and give them a full answer the day following. In the meane time he sent them certaine Victuals and Wine.

When all these things were declared to the King of Messana, who was the chiefest thereabout next unto him, and Lord of many Ilands, hee went a Land, and repayred

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to the King of Zubut, and declared unto him the great humanitie and courtesie of the generall Captaine. Shortly after, the Captaine sent certaine of his men with the Interpreter, to the King of Zubut, to know his pleasure, and what answere hee would make them. As they went toward the Court, they met the King comming in the street, accompanyed with many of his chiefe men. Hee caused our men to sit downe by him, and demanded of them, if there were any more then one Captaine in their companie; and whether it were their request, that hee should pay tribute to the Emperour. They answered, that they desired none other thing, but that they might exercise Merchandize with them, and to barter Ware for Ware. The King made answere, that he was well content therewith: willing the Captaine, in token of friendship, to send him a little bloud of his right arme; affirming, that he would doe the like.

Shedding of blood is a token of friendship.

After this, the King of Messana, with the King of Zubut his Nephew (who was the Prince) and certaine other of his Gentlemen, came to the ships, and brought the Captaine many goodly presents. They entred into great amitie, and had large communication of many things. The Captaine perswaded them to the Christian Faith: which they gladly embraced, and tooke such pleasure in hearing the Articles of our Beleefe, that the teares fell from their eyes for joy. They were baptized: and shortly after, all the people of the Iland. They esteeme nothing more precious, then drinking Glasses of Venice worke.

The King of Zubut is baptized.

When they came to the Citie, they found the King in his Pallace, sitting upon a Floore or Storie made of the Leaves of Date trees, wrought after a curious Device, like a certaine kind of Mats. Hee had upon his body none other Apparrell, but onely a Cloth of Bombasine Cotton, hanging before his privie parts. On his head hee had a Veyle of Needle-worke, and about his necke a Chayne of great price. At his eares hung two Rings of Gold, wherein were inclosed many precious Stones. Hee was but of small stature, but somewhat grosse, and had the residue

The King of Zubut his Apparrell.

of his body painted with divers colours, whereof some were like unto flaming fire. Before him, hee had two Vessels made of the fine Earth called Porcellana, with sodden Egges. Also foure Vessels of Porcellana, full of Wine made of Date trees, and covered with many odoriferous Herbes. The Prince brought them to his House, where hee had foure daughters, very well favoured and white, like ours. Hee caused them to dance all naked, and therewith to sing, and play on certaine Tymbrels made of Metall. At this time it so chanced, that one of the Spaniards died in one of the shippes: and when certaine of their companie desired the King to give them leave to burie him on the Land; hee answered, That for as much as hee and all his were at the commandement of their King and Master, how much more ought the ground so to bee? They greatly marvelled at the Ceremonies pertayning to the manner of our Funerals, and honoured the Crosses which were set at both the ends of the Grave. They live with Justice, and use Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber and sawne Boords, and are so builded above the ground upon Props and Pyles, that they ascend to the same by certaine stayres. Under their Houses, they keepe their Hogges, and Goats, and Hennes. They told of certaine goodly Water-Fowle as bigge as Crowes, called Laghan, which the Whales of those parts sometimes swallow downe, but so are themselves devoured, the Fowle gnawing the heart of the Whale, and killing him; by the people found in the dead body, floting to Land, still living in the same. The flesh of this Fowle is delicate, but the skin is blacke.

Well favoured Women.

When they came to bartering, they gave Gold, Ryce, Hogges, Hennes, and divers other things, for some of our trifles of small value. They gave tenne Pesos of Gold for foureteene pounds weight of Iron. One Pesus is in value a Duckat and a halfe.

Bartering.

Pesus what it is.

The Sunday following, the King was baptized with great solemnitie: at which time, the Captaine admonished him

before, not to be afraid at the shooting off of the Ordenance, because it was their custome so to doe at such solemne Feasts. After this, the Captaine caused them to breake all their Idols, and to set up the Crosse in divers places, praying to the same both Morning and Evening, kneeling on their knees, and holding up their hands joyned together. The King in his baptisme was named Charles, after the Emperours name, and the Prince Ferdinando, after the name of his Majesties Brother. The King of Messana was named John, and the More Christopher. To all other they gave such names as are commonly used in Christendome. And thus before Masse was begun, were five hundred men baptized. When Masse was finished, the Captaine invited the King to dyne with him in his shippe, and at his comming caused the Ordenance to be discharged. The Queene was also baptized, with fortie of her Gentlewomen, and her Daughter the Princes Wife. The Queene was very young and faire, having her body covered with a white Cloth. Her Lippes were red, and shee had on her head a Hat, on the top whereof was a triple Crowne, much like the Popes: this Crowne and the Hat were made of the Leaves of Date trees.

They breake their Idols, and erect the Crosse.

Five hundred men baptized.

[I. ii. 41.]

The Queene of Zubut.

Within the space of eight dayes, the Inhabitants of the Iland were baptized, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not herein obey the Kings commandement. Whereupon the Captaine sent certaine of his men thither, who burnt the Towne, and erected a Crosse in that place, because the people of the Village were Gentiles (that is) Idolaters. But if they had been Mores (that is, Machumetists) they would have erected a Pillar of Stone, because the Mores are more stubborne and harder to be converted then are the Gentiles.

The Queenes Apparrell.

When the Queene came to the place where shee should heare Masse, shee came forth with great pomp and solemnitie, having going before her three young Damosels, and three men with their Cappes in their hands, whom shee followed apparrelled in white and blacke, with a great

Veyle of Silke upon her head, fringed about with Gold, which covered her Hat, and hung downe to her shoulders: shee had also a great trayne of Women following her, being all barefooted and naked, except that upon their heads and privie parts, they wore certaine Veyles of Silke, and had their hayre spred.

Before the King of Zubut was baptized, hee was named Raja Humabuon. When the Captaine demanded of him, Why all the Idols in the Iland were not burnt, according to his promise? hee answered, That they esteemed them no more as Gods, but onely made sacrifice to them for the Princes Brother, who was very sicke, and as noble and wittie a man as was in the Iland. The Captaine answered, That if hee would burne all his Idols, and beleeve faithfully in Christ, and be baptized, hee should be immediately restored to health, and that he would else give them leave to strike off his head. By these words and perswasions of the Captaine, he conceived such hope of health, that after he was baptized, he felt no more griefe of his disease. And this was a manifest Miracle wrought in our time, whereby divers Infidels were converted to our Faith, and their Idols destroyed, and also their Altars overthrowne, on the which they were accustomed to eate the sacrificed flesh. The people of the Iland pay the King a portion of Victuals for their tribute, by all their Cities and Villages.

The Iland of Mathan.

Not farre from this Iland of Zubut, is the Iland of Mathan, whose Inhabitants use marvelous Ceremonies in their sacrifices to the Sunne, and in burying the dead. Before their Swine-sacrifice, they ring certaine Bells: then bring three Platters; in two of which, are Vyands of Rice and Honey boyled rouled up in Leaves, and rosted Fishes; in the other, is a Linnen Cloth, with two Fillets or strings, which is spred on the Earth. Then come two old Women, each with a Reed-Trumpet in hand. These mount upon the Cloth, and having worshipped the Sunne, cover themselves with the Cloth. One of them applyes one of the strings or Fillets with two hornes, to her for-

head, holding the other in her hand, and thus sounding and dancing, calleth on the Sunne. The other followeth; both praying, sounding, and dancing round about the Hogge, tyed in the midst. The horned Beldame mumbleth to the Sunne, the other answering: Then a Cup of Wine is brought, and making semblance to drinke, after divers mutuall mumblings, shee powreth it on the Hogge. After which, this horned Mother hath a Lance brought her: with which, after a deale of masking and mumming Ceremonie, shee kills him. All this while a Light is burning, and now is put into the mouth of the Swine. The other Beldam washeth the Head of the Trumpe in the bloud, and with her finger imbrued with bloud, first signeth her Husbands for-head, and after, other mens. Which done, they both disrobe themselves, and eate the Vyands in the other Dishes, onely Women communicating with them. They sindge the Hogge: the flesh they may not eate, till it be thus consecrated by those Witches. They goe naked, except a little Cloth before their privities. The Males, great and small, make a hole thorow the skin, neere the head of the Yard, and therein a Gold Ring is put, as bigge as a Goose-quill. They take as many Wives as they will, but one is principall. When a man of sort dyes, the principall Women goe to his House, and set Boughes in Cords, fastned about the Corps, in every Bough a piece of Cotton, so that the place is like a Tent. Herein they sit, arrayed in white Cotton, each having a Girdle, with a Fanne of Palme tree, to cause winde. One comes after with a Knife, which cuts off by little and little the hayre of the deceased. After which, his principall Wife lyeth upon him, applying her Lippes to his, her Hands to his Hands, and her Feet to his. When the one cutteth, this other laments; when shee ceaseth to cut, this sings. About the Chamber, are Porcellane Dishes with fire, on which they burne Myrrhe, Storax, and other Sweets. This Ceremonie lasts five dayes. All which time, at Midnight (they say) there comes as it were a Raven, which lights on the House, and cryes; the Dogs

with howling, holding with the Ravens crying, a blacke Sanctus for five houres each Night. After all this, they enclose the Corps in a House closed round with Wood.

The Iland is governed by two Princes, whereof the one is named Zula, and the other Cilapulapu. And whereas this Cilapulapu refused to pay tribute to the King of Spaine, the Captaine went against him in his owne person [I. ii. 42.] with threescore of his men, armed with Coats of Mayle and Helmets. Cilapulapu divided his Army into three Battels, having in every Battell two thousand and fiftie men, with armed Bowes, Arrowes, Darts, and Javelins, hardened at the points with fire. This continued long and sharpe. But the Captaine being a valiant man, and preasing himselfe in the brunt of the Battell, was sore wounded with a venomed Arrow, and after, with a Lance of Cane thrust in his face, slaine, for as much as the most of the Barbarians directed all their force against him. Beside the Captaine, were slaine of our men about eight or nine: Of the Barbarians, were fifteene slaine, and many sore wounded. After the death of the Captaine, they chose two other in his place; of the which, one was Odoardo Barbosa, a Portugall, and the other, John Serrano, who was shortly after betrayed by the Interpreter, and taken prisoner with divers other. The Enemies would not permit Magalianes Body to be ransomed at any price.

The Captaine Magellanus is slaine.

Certaine dayes before the Captaines death, they had knowledge of the Ilands of Molucca, which they chiefely sought. Departing therefore from the Iland of Mathan, they sayled farre, and came to the Cape of another Iland, named Bohol. In the midst of this maine Sea (which they named Archipelagus) they consulted to burne the ship named Conception, because they were now few in number, and to furnish the other two ships with the Artillerie thereof. Thus directing their course toward Southwest, they came to another Iland named Pauiloghon, where they found blacke men.

The Iland of Bohol.

They burnt one of their ships.

Black men.

Shortly after, they arrived at another great Iland, whose King, named Raja Calavar, entreated them very friendly in all things, as did the King of Messana. This Iland is rich in Gold, and hath plentie of Rice, Ginger, Hogges, Goats, Hennes, and divers other things. It is named Chippit, and is eight degrees above the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, and in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, an hundred and seventie degrees, and about fiftie Leagues from Zubut.

The Iland of Chippit.

The King, in token of peace, drew bloud of his left hand, and therewith anoynted his body, face, and the top of his tongue. The like was done by the Spaniards. Pigafetta was entertayned by the King and his two Wives with deepe Carowses; which hee refused to pledge, excusing, that hee had supped. Here hee saw much Gold, but small provision of Victuall.

Departing from hence, they came to another Iland, named Caghaian, being fortie Leagues from Chippit, as they sayled betweene the West and Southwest. This Iland is very great, and in manner unhabited. The people are Mores, and were banished out of the Iland of Burnei, which some call Porne. They use poysoned Arrowes, and have store of Gold.

The Iland of Caghaian.

From this Iland, about five and twentie Leagues betweene the West and Northwest, they found a marvellous fruitfull Iland, named Pulaoan, being toward our Pole above the Equinoctiall nine degrees, and a third part, and an hundred seventie and nine degrees, and a third part, in longitude from the place of their departing. In it is store of Rice, Ginger, Hogges and Goats, Hennes, Figges halfe a yard long, as bigge as a mans arme, very good, and others of lesser kindes; Cocos, Battatos, Sugar Canes, and a kind of pleasant Rootes. The King in token of friendship wounded his Brest with a Knife, touching with the bloud his Tongue and For-head; and the Spaniards did likewise. The people goe naked, use poysoned Arrowes, have great Cocks, which they use in Cock-fightings, but not for food, by reason of a reason-

The Iland of Pulaoan.

lesse superstition. They have Wine of Rice, better then that of the Palme-tree, easily causing Drunkennesse.

The Iland of Barnei, or Porne.

From this Iland, ten Leagues toward the Southwest, they saw another Iland, which seemed to them sometimes to mount, as they sayled by the Coasts thereof. As they were entring into the Port, there arose a boystrous and darke Tempest, which ceased as soone as the Fires of the three Saints (whereof we have spoken before) appeared upon the Cables. From the beginning of this Iland to the Port, are five Leagues. This Iland is great and rich, and the chiefe Citie thereof contayneth five and twentie thousand Houses. The King entertayned our men very friendly, and sent them, beside many other presents, two Elephants, trapped with Silke, to bring them to his Pallace, that brought the presents which the Captaines sent him. Hee hath a magnificent Court, and a great Guard; also, a multitude of Concubines. Hee is a More, and is named Raja Siripada. Hee is a King of great power, and hath under him many other Kings, Ilands, and Cities. This Iland of Burnei is above the Equinoctiall, toward our Pole, five degrees and a quarter, and in longitude from the place of their departing, an hundred seventie six degrees, and two third parts. They use here Betele and Arecca, and Rice-Wine, called Arach. Their reverence to the King, is three times to hold the hands closed over the head, then to lift up the feet one after the other, and lastly, to kisse their hands. The King hath ten Scribes, or Secretaries, which write his affaires in Barkes of Trees. His household was all ordered by Women, and the chiefe mens Daughters.

A great Citie.

Elephants.

On the nine and twentieth of July they were assaulted by an hundred Prawes and Junkes, of which, they tooke foure; in one of which, was the sonne of the King of Lozon, Captaine generall to the King of Borneo, who now was returned from the sacke of Lao, a great Citie in the Iland towards Java: For the Ethnikes, or Natives, and the Mores of this Iland are in fierce Warres against each other. And had not the Pilot for a bribe let this man escape

[I. ii. 43.]

closely, hee had beene worth much to them in ransome. This King of Borneo had two Pearles, as it were Henne Egges, and so round, that on a plaine Table they would not stand firmely. In this Iland growes Camphir, which is the gumme of the Tree Capar, and Cinnamon, Ginger, Mirabolans, Oranges, Limons, Sugar, Cucumers, Melons, Swine, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Elephants, Horse, &c.

The Iland of Cimbubon.

Departing from Burnei, they came to an Iland called Cimbubon, being eight degrees seven minutes above the Equinoctiall Line. Here they remayned fortie dayes, to calke their shippes, and furnish them with fresh Water and Fuell, which was to them great paine and travell, because they were in manner all bare-footed, their shooes (and in manner their other Apparrell) being worne, by reason of the long Voyage. In the Woods of this Iland they found a Tree, whose Leaves as soone as they fall on the ground, doe stirre and remove from place to place, as though they were alive: they are much like the Leaves of a Mulberry Tree, and have on every side as it were two short and blunt feet. When they are cut or broken, there is no bloud seene come forth of them: Yet when any of them are touched, they suddenly move, and start away. Antonie Pigafetta kept one of them in a Platter for the space of eight dayes, and ever when he touched it, it ranne round about the Platter. Hee supposeth, that they live onely by ayre. Here were Crocodiles, and wild Hogges, and Ostriches. They tooke also a Fish, headed like a Swine, with two hornes, the rest of the body all of one bone, and as it were a saddle on the backe.

Leaves of trees which seeme to live.

Departing from hence, they directed their course by the West quarter toward the South-east, to find the Ilands of Molucca, and sayled not farre from certaine Mountaines, where they found the Sea full of great Weedes and Herbes.

A Sea full of Weedes.

From hence, they came to the Ilands of Zolo and Taghima, in the which are found Pearles of exceeding bignesse. The King of Borneo had his two Pearles from hence, captiving the King his father in Law, and making him pay them for ransome.

Pearles.

Following their course toward the North-east, they came to a great Citie named Mangdando, lying above the Ilands of Buthuan and Calaghan, where they tooke a Canoa of certaine of the Inhabitants: by whom being informed of the Ilands of Molucca, they left their course toward the North-east, and followed the South-east, neere unto a Cape of the Iland of Buthuan. They were advertised for certaintie, that on the bankes of a certaine River, there dwelt men, called Benaian, over-growne with hayre, which killed men, and did eat their hearts raw, with the juice of Oranges and Limons. They are tall and strong, use Bowes and Swords of Wood. In these Ilands growes the best Cinnamon, whereof they had seven and twentie pound in exchange for two Knives. Here is the great Citie Mangdando. Being in six degrees, seven minutes, they made their way South-east, and encountred foure Ilands, Ciboco, Biramboia, Sarangani, Condingar.

Men over-growne with hayre.

A great Tempest here assayled them the foure and twentieth of October: but after their prayers, the three Lights appeared on their shrowds, whereupon the darknesse ceased, if a worse did not remayne. For they hereupon vowed to set free a slave in honour of the three Saints, S. Helena, S. Nicholas, and S. Clare. How much more tolerable is that Ethnike adoration of the Sunne and Starres, then this of inferior Meteors, if it may any way be tolerable to give the glory of God to a Creature?

After the Tempest, they came to harbour in the Ile Sarangani, where they heard was Gold and Pearles. Here they tooke by force two Pilots for the Molucca's. They passed eight Ilands, some inhabited, some not; their names were Ceana, Canida, Cabiaio, Camuca, Cabalu, Chiai, Lipan, Nuzza; and then came to a faire Iland, called Sanghir, in three degrees and a halfe, where were foure Gentile Kings. They passed five other Ilands, and then espyed foure others, which their Pilot said were the Molucca's. This was the sixt day of November, and the seven and twentieth moneth after their departure out of Spaine. Being therefore joyfull, and giving thankes unto

God, they discharged all their Ordenance. In the Coast of all these Ilands, even unto the Ilands of Molucca, sounding with their Plummet, they found the depth of the Sea to be no lesse then a hundred and two yards, which is contrary to the saying of the Portugals; who affirme, That no ship can passe that way without great danger, by reason of the shallownesse, and Rockes or Shelves, and for the darkenesse which the Clouds cause in the Heaven. All which things they fayned, to the intent that none other should have knowledge of their Voyages.

The Ilands of Molucca.

The Portugals are reproved.

The eight day of November, in the yeere 1521. before the rising of the Sunne, they entred into the Port of the Iland of Tidore, being one of the chiefe Ilands of Molucca, where they were honourably entertayned of the King: who declared, that hee had long before dreamed, that certaine ships should come from a farre Countrey, to the Ilands of Molucca: And that whereas, for the better certificate thereof, hee considered the stations of the Moone, hee saw therein the comming of our ships, and that wee were the men whom hee seemed to see in the same. Whereupon hee proffered himselfe to enter into league of friendship with the King of Spaine, and to accept our men as his Brethren and Children, willing them to come aland, as into their owne Houses. Also, that for their comming, that Iland should no more be called Tidore, but Castile, for the great love which he bore to their King, whom he reputed as his Lord and Master. This King is a More, and is named Raja Sultan Mauzor. He sware upon the Alcoran (laying it three or foure times on his head, and saying certaine words) to be friend to the King of Spaine.

Tidore, one of the Ilands of Molucca.

A Vision in the Planets.

[I. ii. 44.]

The Ilands of Molucca are five in number, and are thus named: Tarenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, and Bacchian. Of these, Tarenate is the chiefest; and the King thereof, was sometime Lord of them all. Mutir and Macchian were now governed of the people. Bacchian had a King. The Clove-trees are as bigge as a man

The five Ilands of Molucca.

Tarenate.

about, tall; the Boughes large in the midst, and pointed at the top; the Leaves, as of Bay-trees; the Barke, of Olive colour. The Cloves grow ten and twentie together, in the tops of the Boughes; first white, red at ripenesse, black by the drying. They gather them twice a yeere, in June and December. The Leafe, Barke, and Wood being greene, is as strong as the Clove. If they take them not in their time, they grow great and hard. Every man hath his owne Trees, and bestowes little Husbandry on them. The Women are brutish, and goe naked, save that before their privities they have a covering made of a Tree, which being steeped in water, is beaten into as large a forme as they will, even to the thinnesse of Silke.

The Iland of Gilolo. Mores and Gentiles.

Directly against the Iland of Tidore, there is another great Iland, named Gilolo, inhabited of Mores and Gentiles. The Mores have two Kings; of the which, one hath six hundred children, and the other six hundred and fiftie. The Gentiles keepe not so many Women as doe the Mores, nor yet live in such superstitions. They pray to the first thing that they meete in the Morning, when they goe forth of their Houses, and honour that as their God for that day. The King of the Gentiles is very rich in Gold. In the said Iland of Gilolo are Reedes as bigge as a mans legge, and full of cleare water, holesome to be drunke.

Gold. Water in Reedes.

Their manner of bartering.

The twelfth day of November, the King of Tidore appointed our men a Ware-house in the Citie, where they might sell their Marchandise. Their manner of exchange was in this sort: For ten yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, which amounteth to foure Cantari, and six pound weight; and one Cantar is a hundred pound weight. For fifteene yards of Cloth, somewhat worse then the other, they received in Cambie, one Bahar. For five and thirtie drinking Cuppes of Glasse, they had one Bahar. For seventeene Cathyls of Quick-silver, one Bahar. They came dayly to the shippes, with many of their Barkes full of Goats, Hennes, Figges of a span long, also the Fruit called Cocus, with divers

other kindes of Victuals, in such quantitie, that it was a marvellous thing to behold. They furnished also their ships with fresh Water, which is hot as it issueth out of the Spring, but is very cold when it hath stood a while in another place. It springeth from the Mountaines, on the which the Clove-trees grow. They saw a Cloud rise in manner daily, which compasseth about the said Mountaines of Clove-trees. There were some Nutmeg-trees also.

Water of a strange qualitie.

The King of the Iland of Bacchian sent the King of Spaine two dead Birds, of strange forme: They were of the bignesse of Turtle-Doves, with little heads and long bylls, also long and small legges, and no wings, but in the stead thereof, certaine long feathers of divers colours, and tayles like Turtle-Doves; all the other feathers are of one colour, much like unto Tawny, except those of the wings: they flye not, but when the winde bloweth. These Mores are of opinion, that these Birds come from the heavenly Paradise, and therefore call them Manuccodiata, that is, the Birds of God.

Birds of a strange forme.

When they were determined to depart from the Ilands of Molucca, certaine Kings of the Ilands accompanied them with their Canoas, and conducted them to an Iland called Mare, where they refreshed their shippes with fresh Water and Fuell. The Kings sent the Emperors Majestie many presents; and embracing our men, departed with the teares in their eyes: and our men, for their last farewell, shot off all their Ordenance.

In the Iland of Mare they perceived, that one of their shippes leaked and tooke water very sore, whereby they were enforced to tarry there three dayes: but seeing that they could finde no remedie for the same, but in long time, they determined to leave it; giving order, that if afterward it could bee repayred, they should returne into Spaine as well as they could.

They leave one of their shippes behind them.

In all the Ilands of Molucca, is found Cloves, Ginger, Bread of the branches or inner parts of Sagu, Rice, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Figges, Almonds, sweet Pomegranats

The Ilands of Molucca.

and sowre, Oranges, Limons, and Honey, which is made of certaine Flyes lesse then Ants: Also Canes of Sugar, Oyle of Cocus, Melons, Gourds, and a marvellous cold Fruit, which they name Camulicai, and divers other Fruits. Furthermore, white and red Popingayes, and other of variable colours. It is not past fiftie yeeres since the Mores first inhabited any of these Ilands, which were before inhabited onely with Gentiles. *Hony of Flyes.* *Popingayes.*

The Iland of Tidore is above the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, about seven and twentie minutes, and in longitude from the place from whence they departed, a hundred seventie one degrees, and from the Archipelagus, in the which is the Iland of Zamal, which our men named the Iland of Theeves, nine degrees and a halfe, and runneth to the quarter of South South-west, and North North-east. Terenate is under the Equinoctiall Line foure minutes, under the Pole Antartike. Mutir is directly under the Equinoctiall Line. Macchian is fifteene minutes toward the Pole Antartike: and Bacchian, one degree. These Ilands are like foure sharpe Mountaines, except Macchian, which is not sharpe. The biggest of all these, is Bacchian. [I. ii. 45.] *The Iland of Tidore.* *Terenate.* *Mutir.* *Macchian.* *Bacchian.*

Departing from the Iland of Mare, and directing their course toward the South-west, with onely six and fortie men in their ship, and thirteene Indians, they passed by the Ilands of Chacovan, Lagoma, Sico, Gioghi, Caphi, Sulacho, Lumatola, Tenetum, Buru, Ambon, Budia, Celaruri, Benaia, Ambalao, Bandon, Zorobua, Zolot, Nocevamor, Galian, and Mallua, with divers other Ilands both great and small, of Mores, Gentiles, and Canibals. Our men remayned fifteene dayes in the Iland of Mallua, to repayre their shippe in certaine places where it tooke water. All the fields of this Iland are full of long and round Pepper, and is situate toward the Pole Antartike, under the Equinoctiall Line, eight degrees and a halfe, and is in the longitude of a hundred sixtie nine degrees, and fortie minutes. The people are Men eaters. The Women use Bowes and Arrowes. The Men weare their Hayre *Many Ilands.* *The Iland of Mallua.* *Pepper.*

and Beards in Canes. There growes much Pepper, both long and round, with Leaves like Mulberry, and climbing, like to Ivie.

Little men with long eares; a fabulous report. Such hath bin the ground of fabulous Monsters in Pliny, &c.

The Pilot which our men brought out of the Ilands of Molucca, told them, That not farre from thence was an Iland named Arucetto, in the which are Men and Women not past a Cubit in height, having eares of such bignesse, that they lye upon one, and cover them with the other. But our men would not sayle thither, both because the Winde and course of the Sea was against them, and also for that they gave no credit to his report.

The Iland of Timor.

White Saunders and Ginger.

The five and twentieth day of January, in the yeere 1522. they departed from Mallua, and the day following arrived at a great Iland named Timor, being five Leagues distant from Mallua, betweene the South and South-west. In this Iland is found the Wood of white Saunders, and Ginger, and divers kindes of Fruits. Also sundry kindes of Beasts, and plentie of Victuall and Gold. They of the Ilands of Giava, Molucca, and Lozon, resort to this Iland for Saunders. The Inhabitants are Gentiles. They say, that when they goe to cut the Wood of Saunders, the Devill appeareth to them in divers formes, and asketh them what they have neede of: And that after this Vision, many of them are long sicke. In all the Ilands of this Archipelagus, reigneth the Disease of Saint Job (which we call the French Poxe) more then in any other place in the World. This Iland stands in ten degrees Antartike, and a hundred seventie foure in longitude.

The Devill appeareth.

Saint Job his disease.

Cinnamome.

The Ilands of Giava. Malacha.

Farre from this Iland, betweene the West and North-west, they came to an Iland named Eude, in the which groweth great plentie of Cinnamome. In this Tract are found many Ilands, lying in order (as it were) one directly behinde another, even unto the Iland of the greater Giava, named Giava major, and unto the Cape of Malacha, being in East India. Giava the lesse is as bigge as the Iland of Madera, and is but halfe a league distant from Giava major.

The eleventh day of February, in the yeere 1522. they departed from the Iland of Timor, and were ingulfed by

chance in the great Sea called Lantchidol, and tooke their course betweene the West and South-west, leaving the North Coasts on their right hand, fearing lest if they should sayle toward the firme Land, they might be seene of the Portugals, who are of great power in Malacha: and therefore directed their course without the Iland of Sumatra, called in old time Taprobana. And more safely to passe the Cape of Buona Speranza, being above Afrike, they sayled about two and fortie degrees toward the Pole Antartike, and remayned seven weekes about that Cape, with many fetches compassing the Winde, with their sayles continually aloft, because they had a West and North-west Winde in the prow of their shippe, which would not suffer them to passe. The Cape of Buona Speranza is toward the Pole Antartike, beneath the Equinoctiall Line, foure and thirtie degrees and a halfe, and a thousand six hundred Leagues from the Cape of Malacha, and is the greatest and most dangerous Cape that is found at this day in all the World.

The Sea of Lantchidol.

Malacha.

The Iland of Sumatra.

Cap. de Buona Speranza.

When they had by these perils over-passed this Cape, certaine of them, as well for lacke of Victuals, as also by reason of Sicknesse, were minded to sayle to a Haven of the Portugals, named Mozambique, above Afrike: But the other answered, That they would rather die, then goe to any other place then directly to Spaine. They followed their course therefore, sayling toward the South-west two moneths continually, without touching at any Port, in which time there died about one and twentie of their companie, whom they cast into the Sea. And surely, if God of his infinite mercie had not preserved the residue in time, they had all died of famine.

The Port of Mozambique.

In fine, being enforced of necessitie, and halfe of their companie dead, they sayled to one of the Ilands of Capo Verde, called Insula Sancti Jacobi, that is, Saint James Iland, pertayning to the King of Portugall. Where, as soone as they arrived, they sent certaine a-land in the ship-boat for Victuals, declaring to the Portugals with all love and favour, what necessitie they were driven to, and what [I. ii. 46.]

miseries and travailes they had sustayned: informing them furthermore of their marvellous Voyage, and such things as they had seene in both the East and West India, with such other gentle words, whereby they obtayned certaine Measures of Rice. But when afterward thirteene of them returned for more Rice, they were detayned. Whereupon the rest which remayned in the shippe, fearing the like chance, departed with full sayles, and the seventh day of September, with the helpe of God, entred into the Haven of San Lucar, neere unto Sivile: where discharging all their Ordenance for joy, they went immediately to the great Church, in their shirts, and bare-footed, with a Torch before them, to give thankes to Almightie God, who had brought them safe to their owne Countrey, and restored them to their Wives and Children.

The Port of S. Lucar, neere unto Sevile.

Of this shippe San Victoria, which returned, and had first discovered the Straits, they were called the Straits of Victoria, which name passed after to Magalianes himselfe.

What became of the other shippe.

The other shippe, which they left behind them to be repayred, returned afterward by the Archipelagus aforesaid, and by the great Sea, to the Coasts of the firme of the West India, and arrived at a Region of the same, being against Dariena, where the South Sea of Sur is separate but by a little space of Land from the West Ocean, in the which are the Ilands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and other Ilands of the Spaniards.

Dariena.

The Portugals tooke the Trinitie, and the Castilians in Tidore, and overthrew their Factorie. They built also, by leave, a Fort in Ternate, and established a Factorie for themselves, indenting, that they alone should have the Cloves sold to them. John Sebastian Cano, which brought home the shippe Victoria into Spaine, was well rewarded by the Emperor. But much strife hereby grew betwixt Spaine and Portugall, each challenging the Molucca's to his owne division. Cosmographers were in fine appointed to define the Controversie, with Pilots and Judges on both sides deputed; and after much menaces, and brabbles, and delayes, the Portugals Trade being great, and loth to lose

such a morsell, tooke the advantage of the Emperours marriage to the Lady Isabel, sister to King John of Portugall: which having use of money, empawned the Ilands and Trade of Spicerie (going then into Italy to be crowned, Anno 1529.) to the said King for three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckats, without terme limitted. In the yeere 1548. Cortes offered to repay that money for six yeeres profits of that Trade, and to leave the same after that to the Crowne: But the Emperour would not admit it. And so it continued, till the Crowne of Portugall it selfe was annexed to the Castilian.

Before also, some had attempted this discoverie out of New Spaine by the South Sea: but unluckily, as by the relation of Ivan Gaetan, a Castilian Pilot, *appeareth: Who set sayle from the Port of Nativitie, in twentie degrees, 1542. and came to the Molucca's, where the King of Tidore gave them kinde entertainment, but their weake shippe forced them to agree with the Spaniards. This Sea is yeerely navigated by the Spaniards to the Philippina's, which now also concurre with the Molucca's.

*This Voyage is in Ramusio his first Tome.

Chap. III.

The second Circum-Navigation of the Earth: Or the renowmed Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, the first Generall which ever sayled about the whole Globe, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577. heretofore published by M. R. Hackluyt, and now reviewed and corrected.

THe fifteenth day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a Fleet of five Ships and Barkes, and to the number of a hundred sixtie foure men, Gentlemen and Saylers, departed from Plimmouth, giving out his pretended Voyage for Alexandria; but the Wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth Haven

in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a Tempest tooke us, as few men have seene the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars; The Mast of our Admirall, which was the Pellican, was cut over-boord, for the safe-gard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repayring of which dammages, wee returned againe to Plimmouth: and having recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, wee set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set sayle the thirteenth day of December following.

[I. ii. 47.] The five and twentieth day of the same moneth, wee fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the Coast of Barbarie: and coasting along, the seven and twentieth day wee found an Iland called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine; betweene which Iland and the maine, wee found a very good and safe harbour for our shippes to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this Iland our Generall erected a Pinnace, whereof he brought out of England with him foure ready framed.

The Isle of Mogador on the Coast of Barbarie.

While these things were in doing, there came to the Waters side some of the inhabitants of the Countrey, shewing forth their Flags of Truce: which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his shippe-boat to the shore, to know what they would. They being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our companie for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our shippe, which by signes shewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring some provision, as Sheepe, Capons, and Hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some Linnen Cloth, and Shooes, and a Javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they fayled not to come againe to the Waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our Boat, one of our men leaping over-rashly

ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they layd violent hands on him, offering a Dagger to his Throat, if he had made any resistance, and so laying him on a Horse, carryed him away: So that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe, amongst such Miscreants.

Our Pinnace being finished, wee departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December: and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters, which were Spanish Fishermen; to whom wee gave chase, and tooke three of them: and proceeding further, we met with three Caravels, and tooke them also. *Januarie.*

The seventeenth day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a shippe riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her: which shippe we tooke, and carryed her further into the Harbour, where we remayned foure dayes; and in that space our Generall mustered, and trayned his men on Land, in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we tooke of the Fisher-men such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yeeld us; and leaving here one of our little Barkes, called the Benedict, wee tooke with us one of theirs, which they called Canters, being of the Burthen of fortie Tunnes, or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this Harbour the two and twentieth of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugall Caravels, which was bound to the Ilands of Cape Verde for Salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Ilands.

The Master or Pilot of that Caravell did advertise our Generall, That upon one of those Ilands, called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few Inhabitants, there dwelling, did yeerely make ready for such of the Kings ships as did there touch, being bound for his Countrey of Brasile, or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Iland the seven and twentieth of January: but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with us, being thereof forbidden by the Kings Edict. Yet the next day *The Isle of Mayo.*

our Generall sent to view the Iland, and the likelyhoods that might be there of provision of Victuals, about three-score and two men, under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughtie: and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iland (as by the Portugall wee were informed) having travelled to the Mountaines the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day breake, we rested our selves, to see day before us; which appearing, wee found the Inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the Valleyes among the Hills.

Ripe Grapes in Winter.

Here we gave our selves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet Grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the Earth at that season of the yeere yeelded us: and that season being with us the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those Fruits were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropique and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twice in the yeere through their Zenith, over their heads, by meanes whereof, they have two Summers; and being so neere the heat of the Line, they never lose the heat of the Sunne so much, but the Fruits have their encrease and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Iland is wonderfully stored with Goats and wild Hennes, and it hath Salt also without labour, save onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is encreased upon the Sands, by the flowing of the Sea, and the heat of the Sunne kerning the same; so that of the encrease thereof, they keepe a continuall Traffique with their Neighbours.

The description of the Tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things, we found here a kind of Fruit called Cocos; which, because it is not commonly knowne with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it. The Tree beareth no Leaves nor Branches, but at the very top the Fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the Tree, as big every severall Fruit as a mans head: but having taken off the uttermost

Barke, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinewes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold of quantitie in Liquor a Pint commonly, or some a Quart, and some lesse: within that shell, [I. ii. 48.] of the thicknesse of halfe an ynch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance, and very white, no lesse good and sweet then Almonds; within that againe a certaine cleare Liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selves with some of these Fruits, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of *Cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our provision: but they had layd out (as it were) to stop our mouthes withall, certaine old dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small, and few, wee made no account of. *Or Goats.

Being returned to our shippes, our Generall departed hence the one and thirtieth of this moneth, and sayled by the Iland of Saint Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three Peeces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harme. The Iland is faire and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals: but the Mountaines and high places of the Iland are said to bee possessed by the Mores; who having beene slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desart places of the Iland, where they abide with great strength. *The Isle of S. Iago.*

Being before this Iland, wee espyed two shippes under sayle, to the one of which wee gave chase, and in the ende boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good Prize, and she yeelded unto us good store of Wine: which Prize our Generall committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie; and retayning the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnace, giving them a But of Wine, and some Victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed. *A Prize, and Nuno da Silva, a Portugall Pilot, taken.*

The same Night wee came with the Iland called by the

The Isle of Fogo. Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Iland: in the North side whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is said to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious Iland, because the Portugals have built, and doe inhabite there. Upon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweet Iland, the Trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke upon, in respect whereof, they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave Iland. From the bankes thereof, into the Sea, doe runne in many places reasonable streames of fresh Waters, easie to be come by, but there was no convenient Roade for our shippes: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring; and it is reported, that Ground was never found in that place: so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the Ayre, but the rootes of Brava are drenched as low in the Sea.

Being departed from these Ilands, wee drew towards the Line, where wee were becalmed the space of three weekes, but yet subject to divers great Stormes, terrible Lightnings, and much Thunder: but with this miserie, wee had the commoditie of great store of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying Fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where-hence they could not rise againe, for want of moysture; for when their Wings are drie, they cannot flye.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled foure and fiftie dayes without sight of Land, and the first Land that wee fell with, was the Coast of Brasil, which wee saw the fift of April, in the height of three and thirtie degrees towards the Pole Antartike: and being discovered at Sea by the inhabitants of the Countrey, they made upon the Coast great fires for a Sacrifice (as wee learned) to the Devils; about which, they use Conjurations, making heapes of Sand, and other Ceremonies, that when any shippe shall goe about to stay upon their Coast, not onely Sands may be gathered together in Shoalds in every place, but also that Stormes and Tempests may arise, to the casting away of shippes

Aprill. 33. *Degrees.*

and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have beene divers experiments.

The seventh day, in a mightie great Storme both of Lightning, Raine, and Thunder, wee lost the Canter, which wee called the Christopher: but the eleventh day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his shippes, wee found her againe; and the place where wee met, our Generall called the Cape of Joy, where every shippe tooke in some Water. Here wee found a good Temperature, and sweet Ayre, a very faire and pleasant Countrey, with an exceeding fruitfull Soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but wee came not to the sight of any people: but travelling further into the Countrey, wee perceived the footing of people in the Clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our shippes, wee weighed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selves betweene a Rocke and the Maine, where, by meanes of the Rocke that brake the force of the Sea, wee rid very safe: and upon this Rocke wee killed, for our provision, certaine Sea-Wolves, commonly called with us Seales.

The Cape of Joy.

From hence wee went our course to six and thirtie degrees, and entred the great River of Plate, and ranne into foure and fiftie and three and fiftie fadomes and a halfe of fresh Water, where wee filled our Water by the shippes side: but our Generall finding here no good Harborough, as hee thought hee should, bare out againe to Sea the seven and twentieth of Aprill, and in bearing out, wee lost sight of our Flie-boat wherein Master Doughtie was: but wee sayling along, found a faire and reasonable good Bay, wherein were many, and the same profitable Ilands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least have laden all our shippes; and the rest of the Ilands are as it were laden with Fowles, which is wonderfull to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentifull of Victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh Water. Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Iland, the people

Their entrance into the River of Plate.

[J. ii. 49.]

Abundance of Seales.

of the Countrey shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receive any thing at any mans hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seeme to be very active.

May. The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to have a care of such ships as were absent, and therefore indevouring to seeke the Flie-boat wherein Master Doughtie was, wee espyed her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discover the Coast, and to search an Harbour, the Mary-gold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came unto us, and gave us understanding of a safe Harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where wee watred, and made new provision of Victuals, as by Seales, whereof wee slew to the number of two hundred or three hundred in the space of an houre.

The Flie-boat cast off and burnt. Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie-boat, and tooke out of her all the provision of Victuals and what else was in her, and haling her to the Land, set fire to her, and so burnt her, to save the Iron worke: Which being a doing, there came downe of the

The people of the Countrey. Countrey certaine of the people naked, saving onely about their Waste the Skinne of some Beast, with the furre or hayre on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, every man his Bow, which was an Ell in length, and a couple of Arrowes. They were very agill people, and quicke to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of Warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receive any thing at our hands: yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his Cap with his Gold Band off his head, and ranne a little distance from

him, and shared it with his fellow, the Cap to the one, and the Band to the other. Having dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately upon our setting forth, wee lost our Canter, which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our Generall had her againe, hee tooke out the necessaries, and so gave her over, neere to the Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape of Good Hope.

The next day after, being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selves againe in a very good Harborough, called by Magellan, Port S. Julian, where wee found a Gibbet standing upon the Maine, which wee supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company. And here M. Thomas Doughty was tried, and received sentence of death, which was also here executed. Here also some of our men going ashore, were by the Savages forced to retire.

June.

Port S. Julian.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

The seventeenth day of August wee departed the Port of S. Julian, and the twentieth day wee fell with the Strait or Freat of Magellan, going into the South Sea, at the Cape or Head-land whereof, wee found the bodie of a dead Man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

August.

The Strait of Magellan.

The one and twentieth day wee entred the Strait, which wee found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof, wee had the Winde often against us, so that some of the Fleet recovering a Cape or Point of Land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an Anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many faire Harbours, with store of fresh Water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the Water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow River or Corner, or betweene some Rockes; so that if any extreme Blasts or contrary Winds doe come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carrieth with it no small danger.

The Land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower Mountaines whereof, although they be mon-

strous and wonderfull to looke upon, for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three Regions of Clouds. These Mountaines are covered with Snow: At both the Southerly and Easterly parts of the Strait there are Ilands, among which the Sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the maine entrance of the Freat. This Strait is extreme cold, with Frost and Snow continually: The Trees seeme to stoope with the burthen of the Weather, and yet are greene continually; and many good and sweet Herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

[I. ii. 50.] *The bredth of the Straits of Magellan.*

The bredth of the Strait is in some places a League, in some other places two Leagues, and three Leagues, and in some other, foure Leagues: but the narrowest place hath a League over.

Abundance of Pengwins in the Strait.

The foure and twentieth of August wee arrived at an Iland in the Straits, where wee found great store of Fowle which could not flye, of the bignesse of Geese, whereof wee killed in lesse then one day three thousand, and victualled our selves throughly therewith.

September.

The sixt day of September wee entred the South Sea at the Cape or Head shore.

The seventh day wee were driven by a great storme from the entring into the South Sea, two hundred Leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Strait: in which height, and so many Leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone, at the houre of sixe of the Clocke at Night: but neyther did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seven-fold.

57. *Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude.*

From the Bay (which wee called, The Bay of severing of Friends) wee were driven backe to the Southward of the Straits, in seven and fiftie degrees and a terce: in

which height, wee came to an anchor among the Ilands, having there fresh and very good Water, with Herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence, wee entred another Bay, where wee found people, both Men and Women, in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iland to another, to seeke their Meat; who entred traffique with us, for such things as they had.

Botero writeth, that another hath found this place all Ilands.

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the third of October three Ilands, in one of which was such plentie of Birds, as is scant credible to report.

The eight day of October wee lost sight of one of our Consorts, wherein M. Winter was, who, as then wee supposed, was put by a storme into the Straits againe: which, at our returne home, wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our companie feared.

M. Winter separated and returned.

[He still (I think) is alive. I conferred with him of this Voyage at Bathe, in Septemb. 1618. He told me, and desired that it should be published, That formall Possession was then and there taken of the said Straits and Territories, with Turfe and Twigge, after the English manner; Captaine Drake delivering him the said Possession, in the name and to the use of Queene Elizabeth, and her Successors.]

Thus being come into the height of the Straits againe, wee ranne, supposing the Coast of Chili to lye as the generall Maps have described it, namely, North-west, which wee found to lye and trend to the North-east, and Eastwards: whereby it appeareth, that this part of Chili hath not beene truely hitherto discovered, or at the least not truely reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least, being set downe eyther of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

The trending of the Coast of Chili.

Wee continuing our course, fell the nine and twentieth of November with an Iland called la Mocha, where wee cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our Boat, went with tenne of our companie to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their owne safetie and libertie,

The Ile la Mocha, in 38. *degrees and* 30. *minutes.*

to flye from the Maine, and to fortifie themselves in this Iland. Wee being on land, the people came downe to us to the Water side, with shew of great courtesie, bringing to us Potatoes, Rootes, and two very fat Sheepe, which our Generall received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have Water there: But the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with Barrels to fill Water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to shew no favour, if they take them) layd violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sayle towards the Coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, wee met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking us to have beene Spaniards, came to us and told us, That at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish shippe laden from the Kingdome of Peru: for which good newes, our Generall gave him divers Trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us, and brought us to the place, which is called the Port of Valparizo.

The Port of Valparizo, in 33. degrees, 40. minutes.

When wee came thither, wee found indeede the shippe riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking us to have beene Spaniards, and their friends, welcommed us with a Drumme, and made ready a Bottija, of Wine of Chili, to drinke to us: but as soone as wee were entred, one of our company, called Thomas Moone, began to lay about him, and strucke one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe Dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those Seas, all to crossed and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them under Hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over-boord into the Sea, and swam ashore to the Towne of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrivall. They of the Towne being not above nine Households, presently fled away, and abandoned the Towne. Our Generall manned his Boat, and

Wine of Chili.

The Towne of S. Iago taken.

the Spanish shippes Boat, and went to the Towne: and being come to it, wee rifled it, and came to a small Chappell, which wee entred, and found therein a Silver Challice, two Cruets, and one Altar-Cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher, his Minister. [I. ii. 51.] Wee found also in this Towne a Ware-house, stored with Wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-Wood; all which Wine wee brought away with us, and certaine of the boords, to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego, a Greeke borne, whom our Generall carryed with him for his Pilot, to bring him into the Haven of Lima.

Wine of Chili.

John Griego, a Pilot, taken.

When wee were at Sea, our Generall rifled the shippe, and found in her good store of the Wine of Chili, and five and twentie thousand Pezoes of very pure and fine Gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to seven and thirtie thousand Duckats of Spanish Money, and above. So going on our course, wee arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent foureteene of his men on land to fetch Water: but they were espyed by the Spaniards, who came with three hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen, and slew one of our men with a Peece; the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a Flag of Truce; but wee set sayle, and would not trust them.

Gold of Baldivia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees, 30. minutes.

From hence wee went to a certaine Port, called Tarapaxa: where being landed, wee found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him thirteene Barres of Silver, which weighed foure thousand Duckats Spanish; wee tooke the Silver, and left the man.

Tarapaxa.

Not farre from hence, going on land for fresh Water, wee met with a Spaniard and an Indian Boy driving eight Llamas or Sheepe of Peru, which are as bigge as Asses; every of which Sheepe had on his backe two Bagges of Leather, each Bagge containing fiftie pound weight of

fine Silver: so that bringing both the Sheepe and their Burthen to the shippes, wee found in all the Bagges eight hundred weight of Silver.

Arica in 18. degrees 30. minutes.

Hence wee sayled to a place called Arica: and being entred the Port, wee found there three small Barkes, which wee rifled, and found in one of them seven and fiftie Wedges of Silver, each of them weighing about twentie pound weight, and every of these Wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a Brick-bat. In all these three Barkes wee found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie Houses, which we would have ransacked, if our companie had beene better, and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the shippes, left the Towne, and put off againe to Sea, and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small Barke, which hee boorded, and found in her good store of Linnen Cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, hee let her goe.

Lima in 11. degrees, 50. minutes.

To Lima wee came the thirteenth day of February: and being entred the Haven, wee found there about twelve sayle of shippes, lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sayles carryed on shore: for the Masters and Marchants were here most secure, having never beene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as wee were. Our Generall rifled these shippes, and found in one of them a Chest full of Ryals of Plate, and good store of Silkes and Linnen Cloth, and tooke the Chest into his owne shippe, and good store of the Silkes and Linnen. In which shippe hee had newes of another shippe, called the Cacafuego, which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with Treasure: whereupon wee stayed no longer here, but cutting all the Cables of the shippes in the Haven, wee let them drive whither they would, eyther to Sea, or to the shore, and with all speede wee followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to have found her; but before wee arrived there, shee was gone from thence

towards Panama: whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a Barke laden with Ropes and Tackle for shippes, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her fourescore pound weight of Gold, and a Crucifixe of Gold, with goodly great Emeraulds set in it, which hee tooke, and some of the Cordage also for his owne shippe.

From hence wee departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our companie, that whosoever could first descry her, should have his Chayne of Gold for his good newes. It fortuned, that John Drake going up into the top, descryed her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke wee came to her and boorded her, and shot at her three Peeces of Ordenance, and strucke downe her Misne: and being entred, wee found in her great Riches, as Jewels and precious Stones, thirteene Chests full of Ryals of Plate, fourescore pound weight of Gold, and six and twentie Tunne of Silver. The place where wee tooke this Prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about an hundred and fiftie Leagues from Panama.

The rich ship called the Cacafuego taken.

Cape de San Francisco, in 1. degree to the North.

The Pilots name of this shippe, was Francisco: and amongst other Plate that our Generall found in this shippe, hee found two very faire gilt Bolles of Silver, which were the Pilots: to whom our General said: Senior Pilot, you have here two Silver Cups, but I must needes have one of them; which the Pilot, because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded unto, and gave the other to the Steward of our Generals shippes.

When this Pilot departed from us, his Boy said thus unto our Generall: Captaine, our shippe shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall be called the Cacafuego: Which prettie speech of the Pilots Boy ministred matter of Laughter to us, both then and long after. [I. ii. 52.]

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West: and not long after, met with a

shippe laden with Linnen Cloth, and fine China Dishes, of white Earth, and great store of China Silkes; of all which things, wee tooke as wee listed. The Owner himselfe of this shippe was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman: from whom, our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of Gold, with a great Emerauld in the brest thereof; and the Pilot of the shippe hee tooke also with him, and so cast the shippe off.

China silkes, and Porcellan.

Guatulco.

This Pilot brought us to the Haven of Guatulco: the Towne whereof, as hee told us, had but seventeene Spaniards in it. As soone as wee were entred this Haven, wee landed, and went presently to the Towne, and to the Towne-house, where wee found a Judge sitting in Judgement, being associate with three other Officers, upon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges and Prisoners wee tooke, and brought them a ship-boord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his Letter to the Towne, to command all the Townes-men to avoid, that wee might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransacked the Towne, and in one house wee found a Pot, of the quantitie of a Bushell, full of Ryals of Plate, which wee brought to our shippe. And here one Thomas Moone, one of our companie, tooke a Spanish Gentleman, as hee was flying out of the Towne; and searching him, hee found a Chayne of Gold about him, and other Jewels, which hee tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugall Pilot set on land: his name was Nuno da Sylva.

The Iland of Canno.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilot, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a shippe of S. Mary Port of Portugall: And having set them ashore, wee departed hence, and sayled to the Iland of Canno; where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne shippe, and discharged her, mended, and graved her, and furnished our shippe with Water and Wood sufficiently. And while wee were here, wee espyed a shippe, and set sayle, after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots and a Spanish Governour, going for the Ilands of the Philip-

A ship with a Governour for the Ilands of Philippina's.

pina's: Wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her Merchandizes, and so let her goe.

Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing, that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish Coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. Hee thought it not good to returne by the Straits, for two speciall causes: The one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength; whose hands, he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape: The other cause, was the dangerous situation of the Mouth of the Straits in the South Sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as hee found by experience, besides the Shoalds and Sands upon the Coast, hee thought it not a good course to adventure that way. Hee resolved therefore, to avoid these hazards, to goe forward to the Ilands of the Molucca's; and thence, to sayle the course of the Portugals, by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

It was the more stormie at his being there, because it was then the Winter season in those parts.

Upon this resolution, hee began to thinke of his best way to the Molucca's; and finding himselfe where hee now was becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely, to sayle somewhat Northerly, to get a Winde. Wee therefore set sayle, and sayled six hundred Leagues at the least for a good Winde; and thus much wee sayled from the sixteenth of Aprill, till the third of June.

June. Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backside of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude.

The fift day of June, being in three and fortie degrees towards the Pole Artike, wee found the Ayre so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof; and the further wee went, the more the Cold encreased upon us. Whereupon wee thought it best for that time to seeke the Land, and did so, finding it not Mountaynous, but lowe plaine Land,

38. *degrees.* till wee came within eight and thirtie degrees towards the Line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good Winde to enter the same.

A description of the People and Countrey of Nova Albion. In this Bay wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their Houses close by the Waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that wee brought: but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to cover their nakednesse; whereupon they supposed us to be Gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie. The Presents which they sent to our Generall, were Feathers, and Kawles of Networke. Their Houses are digged round about with Earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the Circle, Clifts of Wood set upon them, joyning close together at the top like a Spire-Steeple, which by reason of that [I. ii. 53.] closenesse, are very warme. Their Bed is the Ground, with Rushes strowed on it: and lying about the House, have the fire in the midst. The Men goe naked: the Women take Bull-rushes, and kembe them after the manner of Hempe, and thereof make their loose Garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a Skinne of Deere, with the hayre upon it. These Women are very obedient and serviceable to their Husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them Feathers and Bagges of Tabacco for Presents: And when they came to the top of the Hill (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our Tents) they stayed themselves; where one appointed for Speaker, wearyed himselfe with making a *A long Oration.* long Oration: which done, they left their Bowes upon the Hill, and came downe with their Presents. In the meane time, the Women remayning on the Hill, tormented them-

selves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes; whereby wee perceived, that they were about a Sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to Prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures; at which Exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before wee bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there, being spred through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them, the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming, were sent two Embassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming; in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token, that his comming might be in peace: Wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King; who marched to us with a Princely Majestie, the people crying continually after their manner: and as they drew neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the Scepter or Mace before the King, whereupon hanged two Crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three Chaynes of a marvellous length: the Crownes were made of knit worke, wrought artificially, with Feathers of divers colours; the Chaynes were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them; and of that number also, the persons are stinted, as some tenne, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the Scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Cony-skins, and other Skins: after them, followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another for a

Chaynes like those of Canada.

Present; not so much as their children, but they also brought their Presents.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very Warlike shew. They being trouped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the Scepter before the King, being informed by another (whom they assigned to that Office,) with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: and a generall Amen as it were given, the King with the whole number of men and women (the Children excepted) came downe without any Weapon, who descending to the foote of the Hill, set themselves in order. In comming towards our Bulwarkes and Tents, the Scepter-bearer began a Song, observing his Measures in a Dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving onely the women, which danced and kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our Bulwarke, where they continued their Song and Dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King, and divers others made severall Orations, or rather Supplications, that he would take their Province and Kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole Land, and become his Subjects. In which, to perswade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a Song, did set the Crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their Chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of Triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knew not what honour and profit it might be to oure Countrey. Wherefore in the

The King resignes his Crowne and Kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

name, and to the use of her Majestie, he tooke the Scepter, Crowne, and Dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the Riches and Treasure therof might so conveniently be transported, to the inriching of her Kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people leaving the King and his Guard with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their Sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of everie person: and such as pleased their fancie, [I. ii. 54.] (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about, offered their Sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of bloud. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed *The like they did in Hochelaga.* unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them Lotions, Playsters, and Oyntments, agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their Diseases. Every third day they brought their Sacrifices unto us, untill they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not being absent from us, but daily frequented our Companie to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that Being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a Sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his Companie travailed up into the Countrey to their Villages, where wee found Herdes of Deere by a thousand *Great Herds of Deere.* in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie. Wee found the whole Countrey to be a Warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Barbary *Abundance of strange Conies.* Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want, and the tayle of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne is on eyther side a bag, into the which shee gathereth her meate, when shee hath filled her belly

abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their Skinnes, for their Kings Coat was made of them. Our Generall called this Countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white Bankes and Cliffes, which lye towards the Sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometimes was so called. There is no part of Earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable shew of Gold or Silver.

Nova Albion.

Gold and Silver in the Earth of Nova Albion.

At our departure hence, our Generall set up a Monument of our being there, as also of her Majesties Right and Title to the same, namely, a Plate, nayled upon a faire great Poste, whereupon was engraven her Majesties Name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and People into her Majesties hands, together with her Highnesse Picture and Armes, in a piece of six pence of currant English Money, under the Plate, whereunder was also written the Name of our Generall. It seemeth, that the Spaniards hitherto had never beene in this part of the Countrey: neyther did ever discover the Land, by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Their departure. October. Certaine Ilands in eight degrees. Strange Canoas, like those of Java.

After wee had set sayle from hence, wee continued without sight of Land till the thirteenth day of October following; which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Ilands, eight degrees to the Northward of the Line: from which, came a great number of Canoas, having in some of them foure, in some six, and in some also foureteene men, bringing with them Cocos, and other Fruits. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glosse, as if it were a Horne daintily burnished, having a Prowe and a Sterne of one sort, yeelding inward Circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shells, for a braverie, and on each side of them lye out two pieces of Timber, about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse or bignesse of the Boat. This people have the nether part of their Eares

cut into a round Circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The Nayles of their Hands are an ynch long, their Teeth are as blacke as Pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an Herbe with a kind of powder, which they alwayes carry about them in a Cane for the same purpose.

Ilands. Leaving this Iland the Night after wee fell with it, the eighteenth of October wee lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants. Wee continued our course by the Ilands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamome.

November. The foureteenth of November wee fell with the Ilands of Molucca: Which day at night (having directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Iland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-King seeing us at Sea, came with his Canoa to us, without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him, that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be readie to doe what hee would require; for which purpose, he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes: with whom if hee once dealt, hee should find, that as hee was a King, so his word should stand. Adding further, that if hee went to Tydore before hee came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to doe with us, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie. Whereupon our Generall resolved to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early wee came to anchor; at which time our Generall sent a Messenger to the King with a Velvet Cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that hee required nothing but Traffique and exchange of Marchandize, whereof hee had good store, in such things as hee wanted.

The Ile of Ternate.

In the meane time, the Vice-King had beene with the King, according to his promise, signifying unto him [I. ii. 55.]

what good things hee might receive from us by Traffique: Whereby the King was mooved with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should have what things hee needed, and would require with peace and friendship: and moreover that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Iland, to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as wee served. In token whereof, hee sent to our Generall a Signet, and within short time after, came in his owne person, with Boats and Canoas, to our shippe, to bring her into a better and safer Road then shee was in at that present. Our Generals Messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine Noble Personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The King of Ternate offreth himselfe and his Kingdome to the service of the Queene of England.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before foure great and large Canoas, in every one whereof, were certaine of his greatest States that were about him, attyred in white Lawne, of Cloth of Calicut, having over their heads, from the one end of the Canoa to the other, a Covering of thinne perfumed Mats, borne up with a Frame made of Reedes for the same use, under which, every one did sit in his order, according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heat of the Sunne, divers of whom being of good age and gravitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also divers young and comely men, attyred in white, as were the others: the rest were Souldiers, which stood in comely order, round about on both sides; without whom, sate the Rowers in certaine Galleries, which being three on a side, all along the Canoas, did lye off from the side thereof three or foure yards, one being orderly builded lower then another, in every of which Galleries were the number of fourescore Rowers. These Canoas were furnished with warlike Munition, every man for the most part having his Sword and Targuet, with his Dagger, beside other Weapons, as Launces, Calivers, Darts, Bowes and Arrowes: also, every Canoa had a small cast Base, mounted at the least one full Yard

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

upon a stocke set upright. Thus comming neere our ship, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great Personages beginning with great gravitie and fatherly countenances, signifying, that the King had sent them to conduct our shippe into a better Roade.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

Soone after, the King himselfe repayred, accompanied with six grave and ancient persons, who did their obeysance with marvellous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our Musike; to whom, as also to his Nobilitie, our Generall gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

Sagu, a kind of Meale.

At length, the King craved leave of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send us such Victuals as were necessarie for our provision: So that the same Night wee received of them Meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine Trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre Curds, but melteth like Sugar, whereof they make certaine Cakes, which may be kept the space of tenne yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of Rice, Hennes, unperfect and liquid Sugar, Sugar Canes, and a Fruit which they call Figo, with store of Cloves.

The King having promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our Generall to come on shore, offering himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reserving the Vice-King for their safe returne. They were received of another brother of the Kings, and other States, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and faire House, where were at the least a thousand persons assembled.

A Castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places threescore grave Personages, all which were said to be of the Kings Councell. There were besides foure grave persons, apparrelled all in Red, downe to the ground, and attyred on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be * Romans, and Liegers there, to keepe continuall Traffique with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turkes Liegers in this place, and one Italian.

** The Turkes sent from Constantinople, which is called New Rome.*

The King at last came in, guarded with twelve Launces, covered over with a rich Canopie, embossed with Gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their Captaines, called Moro, rising to meet him, hee graciously did welcome, and entertaine them. Hee was attyred after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his Waste downe to the ground, was all Cloth of Gold, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feet were a payre of shooes, made of Cordovant skinne. In the attyre of his head were finely wreathed hooped Rings of Gold, and about his necke hee had a Chayne of perfect Gold, the Links whereof were great, and one-fold double. On his fingers hee had six very faire Jewels: and sitting in his Chayre of Estate, at his right hand stood a Page with a Fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The Fanne was in length two foot, and in bredth one foot, set with eight Saphyres, richly embroydered, and knit to a staffe three foot in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moove it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their Message, and received order accordingly, were licenced to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Councell.

The Majestie of the King.

[I. ii. 56.]

Ternate the chiefest of the Molucca Iles.

This Iland is the chiefest of all the Ilands of Molucca, and the King hereof is King of seventie Ilands besides. The King with his people are Mores in Religion, observing certaine new Moones, with fastings; during which Fasts, they neyther eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that wee had here, by the favour of the King, received all necessarie

things that the place could yeeld us: our Generall considering the great distance, and how farre hee was yet off from his Countrey; thought it not best here to linger the time any longer; but weighing his anchors, set out of the Iland, and sayled to a certaine little Iland, to the Southwards of Celebes, where wee graved our shippe, and continued there, in that and other businesses, six and twentie dayes. This Iland is throughly growne with Wood, of a large and high growth, very straight, and without Boughes, save onely in the head or top, whose Leaves are not much differing from our Broome in England. Amongst these Trees, night by night, through the whole Land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fierie Wormes flying in the Ayre, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English Flyes, make such a shew and light, as if every Twigge or Tree had beene a burning Candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large Hennes. Of Cray-fishes also here wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for foure hungry stomackes at a Dinner, being also very good, and restoring meat, whereof wee had experience: and they digge themselves holes in the Earth like Conies.

A little Iland to the Southward of Celebes.

Fierie Worms.

Bats.

Cray-fishes.

When wee had ended our businesse here, wee weighed, and set sayle to runne for the Molucca's: but having at that time a bad Winde, and being amongst the Ilands, with much difficultie wee recovered to the Northward of the Iland of Celebes; where, by reason of contrarie Windes, not able to continue our course, to runne Westwards, wee were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoalds, which lye off and among the Ilands: whereof wee had too much tryall, to the hazard and danger of our shippe and lives. For upon the ninth of January, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly upon a Rocke, where wee stucke fast from eight of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeed out of all hope to

Januarie, in Anno 1579.

Their danger upon a Rocke. escape the danger. But our Generall, as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God; so now hee continued in the same: and lest hee should seeme to perish wilfully, both hee and wee did our best endevour to save our selves, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the end wee cleared our selves most happily of the danger. Wee lighted our shippe upon the Rockes, of *Cloves.* three Tunne of Cloves, eight Peeces of Ordenance, and certaine Meale and Beanes: And then the Winde (as it *The helpe of a Current in the deliverie.* were in a moment, by the speciall grace of God) changing from the Starboord to the Larboord of the shippe, wee hoysed our sayles, and the happie gale drove our shippe off the Rocke into the Sea againe, to the no little comfort of all our hearts: for which wee gave God such prayse and thankes, as so great a benefit required.

February. Barateve Iland. The eight of February following, wee fell with the fruitfull Iland of Barateve, having in the meane time suffered many dangers by Windes and Shoalds. The people of this Iland are comely in body and stature, and of a civill behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof wee had the experience sundry wayes; they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieve our wants, in those things which their Countrey did yeeld. The Men goe naked, saving their heads and privities, every man having something or other hanging at their eares. Their Women are covered from the middle downe to the foot, wearing a great number of Bracelets upon their armes, for some had eight upon each arme, being made some of Bone, some of Horne, and some of Brasse, the lightest whereof, by our estimation, weighed two ounces apeece.

Linnen Cloth good Marchandize. With this people, Linnen Cloth is good Marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make Rolls for their heads, and Girdles to weare about them. Their Iland is both rich, and fruitfull: rich in Gold, Silver, Copper, and Sulphur; wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially

into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them. Their Fruits be divers, and plentifull, as Nutmegs, Ginger, long Pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, Cocos, Figu, Sagu, with divers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one Fruit, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay-berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and holesome Victuall, whereof wee tooke reasonable store, as wee did also of the other Fruits and Spices. So that to confesse a truth, since the time that wee first set out of our owne Countrey of England, wee happened upon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein wee found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Nutmegs and long Pepper growing in Barateve.

Commendation of the Iland of Barateve.

At our departure from Barateve, we set our course for Java major, where arriving, wee found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is governed by five Kings, whom they call Rajah: as Rajah Donaw, and Rajah Mang Bange, and Rajah Cabuccapollo, which live as having one Spirit, and one Minde. Of these five we had foure a ship-boord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as Red and Greene: the upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the Maluccians: from the middle downeward they weare a Pintado of silke, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like. The Maluccians hate that their Women should bee seene of Strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the Kings themselves. The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well provided of Swords and Targets, with Daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store. They have an house in every Village for their common assembly: every day they meete twise, Men, Women, and Children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some Fruits, some Rice boiled, some Hens rosted, some Sagu, having a Table made three foote from the ground, whereon they

[I. ii. 57.]

Java Major.

Red & Greene clothes much esteemed.

The manners of the people of Java.

set their meate, that every person sitting at the Table may eate, one rejoycing in the company of another. *A strange fashion of boyling Rice.* They boile their Rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a Sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great end, wherein they put their Rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they have readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with Rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which with Oyle, Butter, Sugar, and other Spices, they make divers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. *The French pocks.* The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told us, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

From Java Major we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first Land wee fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other Land, untill we came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding wee ran hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the World, never without intolerable stormes and present danger to Travailers, which come neere the same. This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole Circumference of the Earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June. From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessarie provisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters upon trees of one kinde, spawning

This rather is to be imputed to varietie of weather.

Sierra Leona.

Oister-trees.

and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

Wee arrived in England the third of November 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

Chap. IIII.

The third Circum-Navigation of the Globe: Or the admirable and prosperous voyage of Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586. and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action, published by Master Hakluyt, and now corrected and abbreviated.

WE departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of July 1586. with three saile, to wit, The Desire, a ship of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, the Content of threescore Tunnes, and the Hugh Gallant, a Barke of fortie Tunnes: in which small Fleete were one hundred and twentie three persons of all sorts, with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient, for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, being our Generall.

The three and twentieth of August, we put roome for Sierra Leona, and the five and twentieth day we fell with the Point on the South side of Sierra Leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content, which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then five fathoms water when wee had least, and had for forteene leagues in Southwest all the way running into the Har- *Sierra Leona.* [I. ii. 58.]

bour of Sierra Leona, sixteene, fourteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms of water. We spoiled here a Towne of the Negro's, which killed one of our men with a poysoned Arrow.

The third day of September, divers of our Fleete went up foure miles within the Harbour with our Boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the Trees, and comming aboord againe, saw two Buffes. The sixt day wee departed from Sierra Leona, and went out of the Harbour, and stayed one Tyde three leagues from the Point of the mouth of the Harbour in sixe fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest. On Wednesday, being the seventh of the same moneth, we departed from one of the Iles of Cape Verde, alias, the Iles of Madrabumba, which is ten leagues distant from the Point of Sierra Leona: and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored two miles off the Iland in sixe fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans onely upon the Iland.

Two Buffes.

Their departure from Sierra Leona.

The Iles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

The eight day one of our Boats went out and sounded round about the Iland, and they passed through a sound at the West end of the Iland, where they found five fathoms round about the Iland, untill they came unto the very gut of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after sixe fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East end of the Iland there was a Towne, where Negro's doe use at sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

A Towne.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceive, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Iland is a Wood, save certaine little places where their houses stand, which are invironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meate. This place is subject marvailous much to Thunder, Raine, and Lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the Sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall. On Saterday the tenth, we departed from the said Iland about three of the clocke in

Fresh water.

the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest. The last of October running West Southwest about foure and twentie leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, wee fell with a great Mountayne which had an high round knop on the top of it, standing from it like a Towne, with two little Ilands from it. *October.* *Cape Frio in Brasil.*

The first of November we went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne Land and had our things on shore, and set up a Forge, and had our Caske on shore: our Coopers made Hoopes, and so wee remayned there untill the three and twentieth day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnace, and filled our fresh water. *November.* *S. Sebastians Iland.*

The sixteenth day of December we fell with the Coast of America in 47. degrees ⅓. the Land bearing West from us about sixe leagues off: from which place wee ranne along the shore, untill we came into fortie and eight degrees. It is a steepe beach all along. The seventeenth in the afternoone we entred into an Harbour, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said Harbour, Port Desire: in which Harbour is an Iland or two, where there is wonderfull great store of Seales, and another Iland of Birds which are gray Guls. This Harbour is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graved and trimmed all our ships there. Here a Man and a Boy in washing their clothes at a Pit, were hurt by the Savages arrowes, which are made of Canes, headed with flints. They are very wilde. We tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was eighteene inches long. Their use is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the Cliffes by the Sea-side, and upon the top of them they burie them, and in their graves are buried with them their Bowes and Arrowes, and all their Jewels which they have in their life time, which are fine shells which they finde by the Sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall manner; and all is laid under their *December.* *48. Degrees.* *Port Desire.* *Seales and Pengwins.* *They grave and trim their Ships.* *A kinde of Giants.*

heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans Darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their Darts and their Graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves. The eight and twentieth of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lyeth three leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saved Pengwins with salt for victuall all that and the next day, and departed along the Coast Southwest and by South.

Their departure from Port Desire.

The thirtieth day wee fell with a Rocke which lyeth about five leagues from the Land, much like unto Ediestone, which lyeth off the sound of Plimmouth, and we sounded, and had eight fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the Rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the Coast. This Rocke standeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the Line. The second day of Januarie we fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 52. degrees, and had seven fathoms water a league of the Land. The third day of the foresaid moneth wee fell with another great white Cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in divers places five or sixe leagues wide, and in two severall places more narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored, and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule Weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

January 1587.

[I. ii. 59.]

They enter the Straits the 6. of January.

A Spaniard taken in the Straits of Magellan.

The sixt day wee put in for the Straits. The seventh day, betweene the mouth of the Straits and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with three and twentie Spaniards more, which were all that remained of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these Straits of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And

the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Straits, where the aforesaid Spaniard shewed us the Hull of a small Barke, which wee judged to be a Barke called The John Thomas. It is from the mouth of the Straits unto the narrowest of the Straits, foureteene leagues, and the course lyeth West and by North. The mouth of the Straits standeth in two and fiftie degrees. From the narrowest of the Straits unto Pengwin Iland, is tenne leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the eight day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for Victuals.

The Barke John Thomas, one of Sir Francis Drakes Consorts.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Iland, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips Citie, which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or Citie had foure Forts, and every Fort had in it one cast Peece, which Peeces were buryed in the ground; the Carriages were standing in their places unburyed: wee digged for them, and had them all. They had contrived their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Straits for Wood and Water: They had builded up their Churches by themselves: They had Lawes very severe among themselves, for they had erected a Gibbet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their companie. It seemed unto us, that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon Muskles and Lympits; for there was not any thing else to be had, except some Deere which came out of the Mountaines downe to the fresh Rivers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Straits, to the end that no other Nation should have passage through into the South Sea, saving onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could never have any thing to growe, or in any wise prosper. And on the other side, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, untill their Victuals grew so short (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and having no meanes to renew the same) that they died like Dogges in their

King Philips Citie left desolate in the Straits of Magellan, which our Generall called, Port Famine.

God enemy to the Spaniards Avarice, which would entayle the wide world in the East and West, to Spain.

Houses, and in their Clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, untill that in the end the Towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alive were driven to burie such things as they had there in their Towne either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the Towne, and to goe along the Sea-side, and seeke their Victuals, to preserve them from sterving, taking nothing with them, but every man his Harquebuze and his furniture that was able to carry it (for some were not able to carry them for weakenesse) and so lived for the space of a yeere and more, with Rootes, Leaves, and sometimes a Fowle, which they might kill with their Peece. To conclude, they were determined to have travelled towards the River of Plate, onely three and twentie persons being left alive, whereof two were Women, which were the remainder of foure hundred. In this place wee watred and wooded well and quietly. Our Generall named this Towne, Port Famine: It standeth in 53. degrees by observation to the Southward.

Port Famine in 53. degrees.

The foureteenth day wee departed from this place, and ranne South Southwest, and from thence Southwest unto Cape Froward, five Leagues West Southwest: Which Cape is the Southermost part of all the Straits, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which Cape wee ranne West and by North five Leagues, and put into a Bay or Cove on the South side, which wee called Muskle-Cove, because there were great store of them: wee ridde therein sixe dayes, the Wind being still Westerly.

Cape Froward in 54. degrees.

Muskle-Cove.

The one and twentieth day wee departed from Muskle-Cove, and went Northwest and by West tenne Leagues, to a very faire sandie Bay on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Bay.

Elizabeth Bay.

The two and twentieth wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about two Leagues from that place, where there was a fresh Water River, where our Generall went up with the shippe-boat about three

miles: Which River hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion Soyle, and so wee saw none other ground else in all the Straits, but that was craggie Rockes and monstrous high Hills and Mountaines. In this River are great store of Savages, which wee saw, and had conference with them: They were Men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: Which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of; for they had gotten Knives and pieces of Rapiers to make Darts of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the River, of purpose to have betrayed us: Which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused us to shoote at them with our Harquebuzes, whereby wee killed many of them. So wee sayled from this River to the Channell of Saint Jerome, which is two Leagues off.

The most brutish Savages that ever were seene.

The Channell of Saint Jerome.

From the River of Saint Jerome about three or foure Leagues, wee ranne West unto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape unto the mouth of the Straits the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Straits to the Southward, wee lay in Harborough untill the three and twentieth of February, by reason of contrary Windes and most vile and filthie foule Weather, with such Raine and vehement stormie Windes which came downe from the Mountaines and high Hills, that they hazarded the best Cables and Anchors that wee had for to hold, which if they had fayled, wee had beene in great danger to have beene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, wee fedde almost altogether upon Muskles, and Limpits, and Birds, or such as wee could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the Fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie Weather. There is at every mile or two miles end an Harborough on both sides of the Land. And there are betweene the River of Saint Jerome and the mouth of the Straits, going into the South Sea, about foure and thirtie

[I. ii. 60.]

February, 1587.

The Straits of Magellan are about 90. leagues long. Leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Straits is about ninetie Leagues. And the said mouth of the Straits standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when wee passe out of the North Sea, which is about two and fiftie degrees and two terces to the Southward of the Line.

The Westerne mouth of the Straits is in 52. degrees and 2. terces. The foure and twentieth day of February wee entred into the South Sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Straits, is a faire high Cape, with a lowe Point adjoyning unto it. And on the North side are foure or five Ilands, which lye sixe Leagues off the Mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by Noone the same day, wee had brought these Ilands East of us, five Leagues off; the Winde being then Southerly.

Their entrance into the South Sea the 24. of February.

Ilands in the South Sea, called Las Anegadas.

March 1. The first of March a storme tooke us at North: which Night the shippes lost the companie of the Hugh Gallant, being in nine and fortie degrees, and one second, and five and fortie Leagues from the Land. This storme continued three or foure dayes: and for that time wee in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other two shippes, looked every houre to sinke, our Barke was so leake, and our selves so dilvered and weakened with freeing it of Water, that wee slept not in three Dayes and three Nights.

Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant, by a great Leake.

The fifteenth day, in the Morning, the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of Saint Mary and the Mayne, where shee met with the Admirall and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha two dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of eight and thirtie degrees: At which place, some of our men went on shore with the Vice-Admirals Boat, where the Indians fought with them with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were marveilous warie of their Calivers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke us for Spaniards, as afterward wee learned. This place which is called Arauco, is wonderfull rich, and full of Gold Mynes: and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they

The Ile of Mocha in 38. degrees, not subject to the Spaniards.

Arauco is the richest place in the South Sea for Gold, and is not subdued by the Spaniards as yet.

alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are desperate and carelesse of their lives, to live at their owne libertie and freedome.

In the after-noone wee weighed anchor, and ranne under the West side of Saint Mary Iland, where wee ridde very well in sixe fathomes Water, and very faire ground all that Night.

S. Mary Iland in 37. degrees and 1. terce, which is subdued to the Spaniards.

The sixteenth day our Generall went on shore himselfe with seventie or eightie men, every one with his furniture: There came downe to us certaine Indians, with two which were the Principals of the Iland, to welcome us on shore, thinking wee had beene Spaniards, for it is subdued by them; who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church, with Crosses and Altars in it. And there were about this Church two or three Store-houses, which were full of Wheat and Barley, ready threshed and made up in Cades of Strawe, to the quantitie of a Bushell of Corne in every Cade. The Wheat and Barley was as faire, as cleane, and every way as good as any wee have in England. There were also the like Cades full of Potato Rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made up in the Store-houses for the Spaniards, against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of Fruits, Hogges, and Hennes. These Indians are held in such slaverie by them, that they dare not eate a Henne or an Hogge themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus wee fitted our selves here with Corne as much as wee would have, and as many Hogges as wee had Salt to powder them withall, and great store of Hennes, with a number of Bagges of Potato Rootes, and about five hundred dried Dogge-fishes, and Guinie Wheat, which is called Maiz. And having taken as much as wee would have, yet wee left great store behind us. Our Generall had the two Principals of the Iland aboord our shippe, and provided great cheare for them, and made them merry with Wine: and they in the end perceiving us to be no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could per-

A Church with Crosses and Altars.

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Christians.

ceive, that if wee would goe over unto the maine Land, unto Arauco that there was much Gold, making us signes, that wee should have great store of Riches. But because wee could not understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within two or three dayes wee furnished our selves.

Arauco rich in Gold.

[I. ii. 61.]

The eighteenth day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day North-northeast, about tenne leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast. The nineteenth we ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where we anchored under an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land. The twentieth, wee departed from The Conception, and went into a little Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there. The thirtieth day, we came into the Baye of Quintero, which standeth in thirty three degrees, and fiftie minutes. Here Fernando the Spaniard, contrary to his oath, forsooke us.

The Conception.

Quintero standeth in 33. degrees 50. minutes.

The last of March, Captaine Havers went up into the Country, with fiftie or sixtie men with their shot and furniture with them, and we travelled seven or eight miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herds of cattell, of kine and bullockes, which were wonderfull wilde: we saw great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and unhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wild-fowles. The countrey is very fruitfull with faire fresh rivers, all along full of wild-fowle of all sorts. Having travailed so farre that we could go no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selves at a very faire fresh River, running in and alongst faire low medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the River, and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should be: so we travailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there

Our men marcht 7. or 8. miles into their enemies land.

were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day, by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had told them that our force was but small, and that we were wonderfull weake: who though they did espie us that day, yet durst they not give the on-set upon us. For we marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby we seemed a great number more then we were, untill we came unto our ships that night againe.

The next day being the first of Aprill, 1587. our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the water side; and being early hard at their businesse, were in no readinesse. In which meane while, there came powring downe from the hilles almost two hundred horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rockes to meete with them, who being but fifteen of us that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the ende with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre. After the losse of these men, we rid in the roade, and watered in despight of them, with good watch and ward, untill the fift of the said moneth.

24. Spaniards slaine.

The fift day we departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lieth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of Penguins, and other fowles; whereof we tooke to serve our turnes, and sayled away North, and North and by West: for so lieth the coast along in this place.

A little Iland full of Penguins.

The fifteenth we came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23. degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may goe in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of thirty men: and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe

Morro moreno in 23. degrees and a halfe.

from the rockes to meete with us, with fresh water and wood on their backes. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live savagely: For they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skinne of some beast laid upon the ground: and over them in stead of houses, is nothing but five or sixe sticks laid acrosse, which stand upon two forkes with stickes on the ground, and a fewe boughes laid on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their Canoa, and all that they have: for we opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. *Most artificiall boates.* Their Canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnes like unto bladders, and are blowne full at one ende with quilles: they have two of these bladders blowne full, which are sowen together, and made fast with the sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water, swell, so that they are as tight as may be. *Tribute payd in fish.* They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards: but they use it beastly.

A barke taken, which they called The George. *Arica standeth in 18. degrees. 31. minutes.* The three and twentieth in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which we kept and called The George: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our Admirals pinnesse followed the boate, and the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our Admirals pinnesse could not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and *A ship taken.* laid aboord a great ship of an hundred tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare shippe was left alone.

[I. ii. 62.] The twentie sixth day, after two other Barkes taken, wee departed. The twentie seaventh day wee tooke a small *The first barke of advise taken.* Barke, which came from Saint Iago, neere unto Quintero, where we lost our men first. In this Barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili.

The third of May we came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of us landed and tooke certain houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs, and hennes: but the sea went so high, that we could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$, to the Southward of the line. *The bay of Pisca in 13. degr. $\frac{2}{3}$.*

The fift of May we departed from this harbour, leaving the Content our Vice-admirall within at an Iland of Seales, by which meanes at that time we lost her companie. *An Island of Seales.*

The sixteenth we tooke with the Hugh Gallant, beeing but sixteene men of us in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, having fowre and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsalvo de Ribas, whom we carried along with us, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victualls: wherefore we left her seaven leagues from the land, very leake, and ready to sinke in seven degrees to the Southward of the line: we sunke her boate and tooke away her foresaile and certaine victualls. *A ship of 300. tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.* *Seven degrees of Southerly latitude.*

The seventeenth, we met with our Admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, Molosses, Maiz, Cordovan-skinnes, Montego de Porco, many packes of Pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and a thousand hennes: and the other shippe was laden with wheat-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these shippes which had the cheife marchandize in it, was worth twenty thousand pounds, if it had beene in England, or in any other place of Christendome, where we might have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could bestow of these goods: the rest we burnt, and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare. *They met their fleet againe.* *Two rich ships taken.* *One shippe worth 20000. pounds.*

The twentieth day in the morning, we came into the road of Paita, and beeing at an anchor, our Generall landed with sixtie or seventie men, skirmished with them of the *The bay of Paita in 5. degrees 4. min.*

towne, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the towne, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governours to stay belowe in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensigne, beeing in number about one hundred men. Now as we were roving betweene the ships and the shore, our gunner shot off a great peice out of one of the barkes, and the shot fell among them, and drave them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them up upon an hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed, and had taken the towne, we ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hilles for the space of an houre, that we drave them in the ende away perforce, and beeing got up the hilles, we found where they had laid all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there upon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of five and twenty pounds weight in silver, in peices of eight ryals, and abundance of houshold-stuffe, and store-houses full of all kind of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carry much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens: for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men; for they were five men to one of us: and we had an English mile and a halfe to our ships. Thus we came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and marvellous cleane kept in every street, with a towne-house or Guild-hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. We set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a Barke riding in the roade, which we set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

25. pounds weight in silver.

The towne of Paita had 200. houses in it.

A barke set on fire.

The Island of Puna within 1. degree the Equinoctiall to the South.

The twentie five day of May, we arrived at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where we found a great ship of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tunnes,

A great Ship burnt.

riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. We sunke it, and went on shore where the Lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house wel contrived, with many very singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of every chamber was framed a gallerie, with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a great hall belowe, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hal, which was filled with Botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South-sea, are made upon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians upon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and he himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a faire woman a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation, and great wealth.

Great store of cables made in Puna.

The twentie ninth day of May, our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Iland thereby, whereas the said Casique which was the Lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of Cordovan leather all guilded over, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold-stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conveyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the shippes businesse.

A little Island neere unto Puna.

[I. ii. 63.]

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitfull: but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least two hundred houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more upon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house, a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower ende a Well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner: The tops of

The Isle of Puna is almost as big as the Isle of Wight.

Cotton trees.

the trees growe full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in every codde there are seven or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe. There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another Orchyard, where grow orenges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with divers other fruits. There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are used continually to be milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bignesse.

An excellent Orchyard.

There was also a very large and great Church hard by the Casiques house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion, hee caused the rest of his subjects to be Christened. In this Church was an high Altar with a Crucifixe, and five belles hanging in the nether ende thereof. We burnt the Church, and brought the bells away. By this time we had haled on ground our Admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second graving of their shipe.

The second of June, an hundred Spaniards assailed us, whereby of our men were slaine, drowned, and taken twelve, of theirs wee slewe fortie sixe. The selfe same day we went on shore againe with seventie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retyre, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes, and darts. This done, we set fire on the Towne, and burnt it to the ground,

The second skirmish with the Spaniards.

The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

having in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made havocke of their fields, orchyards, and gardens, and burnt foure great shipps more which were building on the stocks. The third, the Content which was our Vice-admirall was haled on ground, to grave at the same place in despight of the Spaniards: and also our Pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was newe trimmed.

They arrived at Puna the 25. of May.

The fift day of June we departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleven dayes, and turned up for a place which is called Rio dolce, where we watered: at which place also we sunke our Rere-admirall, called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes. The tenth day of the same moneth, we set the Indians on shore, which wee had taken before in a Balsa, as we were comming into the road of Puna. The eleventh day we departed from the said Rio dolce. The twelft we doubled the Equinoctiall line, and continued our course Northward all that moneth.

The Hugh Gallant a Barke of 40. tuns sunke.

Rio dolce.

The first of July we had sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land, in the latitude of tenne degrees to the Northward of the line. The ninth, we tooke a new ship of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serve his turne to water along the coast: for he was one of the best coasters in the South Sea. This Michael Sancius was a Provensall, borne in Marseils, and was the first man that told us newes of the great shippe called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

Michael Sancius a Marsillian.

There were six men more in this new shippe: wee tooke her sailes, her ropes, and fire-wood to serve our turnes, set her on fire and kept the men.

A great newe shippe burnt.

The tenth wee tooke another barke which was going with advise of us, and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius told us: but all the company that were in the barke were fled on shore. The sixe and twentieth day of July, we came to an anchor at tenne fathomes in

The second Barke of advise taken.

The river of Copolita. the river of Copalita, where we made account to water. And the same night wee departed with thirty men in the Pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesaid river; and standeth in fifteene degrees fortie minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall line. The seven and twentieth in the morning by the breake of day, wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of fiftie tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate, laden with Cacaos and Anile, which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the Church and Custome-house, which was very faire and large: in which house were sixe hundred bags of Anile to die cloth; every bagge whereof was worth fortie Crownes, and foure hundred bagges of Cacaos; every bag whereof is worth ten Crownes. These Cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For an hundred and fiftie of them are in value one Ryal of plate in readie payment. They are very like unto an Almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eate them, and make drinke of them.

Aguatulco in 15. degrees and 40. minuts Northward.

A barke burnt.

Anile. Cacaos.

Aguatulco a towne of 100. houses burnt.

[I. ii. 64.]

Cacaos goe for money in Nueva Espanna.

The eight and twentieth day, we set sayle from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that we could not fill water, and ranne the same night into the roade of Aguatulco. The nine and twentieth, our Generall landed and went on shore with thirtie men, two miles into the woods, where we tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and we found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe aboord. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be understood, that a Mestizo, is one which hath a Spaniard to his father, and an Indian to his mother.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30. men.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with thirty of us went with the Pinnesse unto an haven called Puerto de Natividad, where we had intelligence by Michael Sancius, that there should be a Pinnesse, but before we could get thither, the said Pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles twelve leagues farther, as we were informed by

Puerto de Natividad in 19 degrees.

certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a Mullato in this place in his bed, which was sent with letters of advice concerning us along the coast of Nueva Galicia, whose horse we killed, tooke his letters, left him behind, set fire on the houses, and burnt two new shippes of two hundred tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came aboord of our shippes againe. The sixe and twentieth day, we came into the bay of S. Iago, where we watered at a fresh River, along which river many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Here also certaine of our company dragged for pearles, and caught some quantitie.

The third poste of advise taken.

Puerto de Natividad burnt.

Two new ships burnt.

The river of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The second of September, we departed from Sant Iago. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minutes to the Northward of the line. The third of September, we arrived in a little Bay a league to the Westward off Port de Navidad, called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelve of the clocke, our Generall landed with thirty men or there about, and went up to a towne of Indians, which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about twentie or thirty houses and a Church, which we defaced and came aboord againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of us. The fourth, we departed from the road of Malacca, and sayled along the coast. The eight, wee came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which Bay there are two little houses by the waters side. This Bay is eighteene leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes. The ninth in the morning our Generall sent up Captaine Havers, with forty men of us before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, we went unto a place about two leagues up into the countrey, in a desert path through the woods and wildernesse; and in the ende wee came to a place where wee tooke three housholders with their wives and children, and some Indians, one Carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, we bound them all, and made them to come to the sea side with us. Our Generall made

The bay of Malacca.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The road of Chaccalla.

their wives to fetch us Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples, and other fruits whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbands depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day we departed the roade.

The Isle of S. Andrew.

The twelfth day we arrived at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrew, on which there is great store of fowle and wood: where we dryed and salted as many of the fowles, as wee thought good: we also killed there abundance of Seales, and Iguanos which are a kind of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which have not seene them; but they are very good meate. We ridde here untill the seventeenth day, at which time wee departed.

Iguanos good meate.

Massatlan in 23. degrees and an halfe.

The foure and twentieth day we arrived in the road of Massatlan, which standeth in twenty three degrees ½. just under the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great river within, but is barred at the mouth: & upon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very evil filling of it: because at a low water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites up into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

An Island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The seven and twentieth day of September, we departed from the roade of Massatlan, and ran to an Island which is a league to the Northward of the said Massatlan; where wee trimmed our ships, and new built our Pinnesse: and there is a little Island a quarter of a league from it, on which are Seales; where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, beeing sent to wash shirts with one of our men to keep him, made a scape, and swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seene thirty or fortie Spaniards and Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was eleven leagues up into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told us. We found upon the Iland where we trimmed our Pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging

The escape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

Chiametla.

two or three foote deepe in the sand, where no water, nor signe of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise wee had gone backe twenty or thirty leagues to water: which might have beene occasion that wee might have missed our prey we had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall having had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foot deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So wee watered our shippes, and might have filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would. [I. ii. 65.]

Fresh water at two or three foote deepe in the sand.

We stayed in this Island untill the ninth day of October, at which time wee departed at night for the Cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California: with which wee fell on the foureteenth of October, it is very like the Needles at the Isle of Wight and within the said Cape is a great Bay, called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which falleth a faire fresh river, about which many Indians use to keepe; we watered in the river, and lay off and on from the said Cape of S. Lucar untill the fourth of November, and had the winds hanging still Westerly.

The Cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.

Aguada Segura.

The fourth of November, the Desire and the Content, beating up and downe upon the headland of California, which standeth in twenty three degrees, and ⅔ to the Northward, betweene seven and eight of the clocke in the morning, one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the toppe, espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the Cape; whereupon he cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole companie, A sayle, a sayle: with which cheerefull word the master of the ship, and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true, gave information unto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole companie to put all things in readinesse,

California in 23. degrees & two thirds.

which beeing performed we gave them chase some three or foure houres, standing with our best advantage, and working for the winde.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and us.

In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordnance, and a volee of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboord, whereof the King of Spaine was owner, which was Admirall of the South-sea, called the S. Anna, and thought to be seven hundred tunnes in burthen. Now as we were readie on their ships side to enter her, beeing not past fiftie or sixty men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captain of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and laid their sailes close on their poope, their mid-ship, with their fore-castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with Lances, Javelings, Rapiers and Targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw over boord upon our heads, and into our ship so fast, and beeing so many of them, that they put us off the shippe againe, with the losse of two of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of foure or five. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh incounter with our great Ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them thorough and thorough, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his companie, stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet. Our Generall incouraging his men afresh with the whole noyse of trumpets, gave them the third encounter with our great Ordnance, and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies, raking them through in diverse places, killing and spoyling many. They beeing thus discomforted, and their shippe beeing in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or sixe houres fight, set out a flagge of truce, and parled for mercie, desiring our Generall to save their lives, and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our

The second incounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anna yeeldeth.

Generall promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyse out their boat, & to come aboord: which newes they were full glad to heare, and presently stroke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their chiefe marchants came aboord unto our Generall: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed his feete, and craved mercie: the Captaine and their Pilote, at their comming used the like duetie and reverence as the former did. The Generall promised their lives and good usage. They declared what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in Silkes, Sattens, Damasks, with Muske and divers other marchandize, and great store of all manner of victualls, with the choise of many conserves of all sorts for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things beeing made knowne, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the sixt day of November following, we went into an harbour, which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

One hundred and two and twenty thousand pezos of Gold.
A pezo is 8. *shillings.*
The merchandise in the great shippe.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of an hundred and ninetie persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh-fish, fowle, and wood, and also many Hares and Conies upon the maine land. Our Generall also gave them great store of victualls, of Garvansas, Peason, and some Wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of plankes as should be sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In division whereof, the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neverthelesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

The Spaniards set on shore to the number of 190.

Mutinie against the Generall. [I. ii. 66.]

On the seventeenth day of November, which is the

day of the happy Coronation of her Majestie, our Generall commanded all his Ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fire-workes, and more Ordnance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had never seene the like before. This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gave him a royall reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians and his companie, both of Swords, Targets, Pieces, Shot and Powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, hee tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both write and reade their owne language, the eldest being about twenty yeeres olde, was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about seventeene yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their shippe, three boyes borne in the Isles of Manilla, the one about fifteene, the other about thirteene, and the yongest about nine yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right Honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them one Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall, who hath been in Canton, and other parts of China, in the Islands of Japon, being a countrey most rich in silver mines, and in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Japon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall.

A Spanish Pilote.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco, and the coast of Nueva Espanna unto the Islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniards doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Phillippinas: in which Isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, Plantans, and Potato-rootes: howbeit the people bee verie rude and heathens.

Acapulco is the haven whence they set forth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The nineteenth day of November aforesaid, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, our Generall caused the Kings Shippe to be set on fire, which having to the

quantitie of five hundred tunnes of goods in her, we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of Ordnance, and set sayle joyfully homewards towards England with a faire winde, which by this time was come about to East Northeast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the roade. And here thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her companie, and never saw her after. We were sayling from this haven of Agueda Segura in California, unto the Iles of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth untill the third of Januarie, 1588. with a faire winde for the space of five and fortie dayes: and we esteemed it to be betweene seventeene and eighteene hundred leagues.

The winde at East northeast.

The Content whereof Steven Hare was master, left behind in the road.

The third day of January by sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of one of the Islands of Ladrones, called the Island of Guano, standing in thirteene degrees ⅔ toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, we were come up within two leagues of the Island, where wee met with sixtie or seventie sayles of Canoas full of Savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their Boates, Plantans, Cocos, Potato-rootes, and fresh-fish, which they had caught at Sea, and held them up unto us for to trucke or exchange with us; which when we perceived, we made fast little pieces of old yron upon small cords, and fishing lines, and so vered the yron unto their Canoas, and they caught hold of them, and tooke off the yron, and in exchange of it, they would make fast unto the same line, either a Potato-roote, or a bundle of Plantans, which we haled in: and thus our companie exchanged with them, untill they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them: yet we could not be ridde of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed, and brake one or two of their Canoas; but the men saved themselves, being in every Canoa, foure, sixe, or eight persons, all naked and excellent swimmers and divers. They are of a tawny

The Island of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13. degrees & two thirds.

Commodities of the Isles of Ladrones.

The colour & stature of the people of the Isles of Ladrones. colour, and marvellous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marvellous long: yet some of them have it made up, and tyed with a knot on the Crowne, and some with two knots, much like unto their Images which we saw carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boats, like unto the Images of the devill. Their Canoas were as artificially made, as any that ever we had seene: considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in breadth, and in length some seven or eight yardes, and their Heads and Sternes are both alike: they are made out with raftes of Canes and Reeds on the Starre-bord-side, with Maste and Saile: their Sayle is made of matters of Sedges, square or trianglewise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde. These Savages followed us so long, that we could not be ridde of them: untill in the ende our Generall commanded some halfe dozen Harquebuzes to bee made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them, and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backeward into the sea, and prevent us by diving.

Their images.

Artificiall canoas.

Canoas sayling right against the winde.

The nimblenesse of the people of the Ladrones.

The foureteenth day of January lying at hull with our Ship all the middle watch, from twelve at night, untill foure in the morning, by the breake of day, we fell with an head-land of the Isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo, which is of very great bignesse and length, high land in the middest of it, and very low land as the Cape lieth East and West, trending farre into the Sea to the Westward. This Cape or Island is distant from the Ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, three hundred and ten leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes, with scant winds, and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This Island standeth in thirteene degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole Land: and it is short of the chiefest Island of the

Cabo del Spirito Sancto, one of the Isles of the Philippinas in 13. degrees.

[I. ii. 67.]

From Guana an Isle of the Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santa is 310. leagues.

Philippinas called Manilla, about sixtie leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards, to the number of sixe or seven hundred persons: which dwell in a towne unwalled, which hath three or foure Block-houses, part made of wood, and part of stone, being indeed of no great strength: they have one or two small Gallies belong to the Towne. It is a very rich place of Gold, and many other commodities; and they have yeerely traffique from Acapulco in Nueva Espanna, and also twenty or thirtie shippes from China, and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. They bring great store of gold with them, which they traffique and exchange for silver, and give weight for weight. These Sanguelos are men of marvellous capacity, in devising and making all manner of things, especially in all handie crafts and sciences: and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and imbroidering upon Satten, Silke, or Lawne, either beast, fowle, fish, or worme, for livelinesse and perfectnesse, both in Silke, Silver, Gold, and Pearle, they excell. Also the fourteenth day at night we entred the Straits between the Island of Luzon, and the Iland of Camlaia.

The description of the town of Manilla.

Trade from Acapulco to Manilla. Marchants of China. Marchants called Sanguelos. Silver exchanged waight for waight for Gold.

The fifteenth of January we fell with an Island called Capul, and had betwixt the said Island and another Island but a narrowe passage, and a rippling of a very great tide, with a ledge of Rockes lying off the point of the Island of Capul: and no danger, but water enough a faire breadth off: and within the point a faire Bay, and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a Cables length. About tenne of the clocke in the morning we came to an anchor. Our Shippe was no sooner come to an anchor, but presently there came a Canoa rowing aboord us; wherein was one of the cheife Casiques of the Island, whereof there bee seven, who supposing that we were Spaniards, brought us Potato-rootes, which they call Comotas, and greene

The Island of Capul at which our men stayed 9. dayes.

One of the chiefe Governours of the Island came aboord us.

Cocos, in exchange whereof we gave his companie pieces of linnen, to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of Potato-rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meate, and excellent sweete, either rosted or boyled. This Casiques skinne was carved and cut with sundry and many strakes and devises all over his bodie. We kept him still aboord, and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the Island, to cause the rest of the Principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the Island came downe with their Cocos, and Potato-rootes, and the rest of the Principals likewise came aboord, and brought with them hennes, and hogges: and they used the same order with us which they doe with the Spaniards. For they tooke for every hogge (which they call Balboye) eight Ryals of plate, and for every henne or cocke one ryall of plate. Thus we rode at anchor all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, Cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selves. Here Thomas Ersola, the Spanish Pilot, seeking to betray us to the Spaniards, was hanged.

Hennes and hogges.

We roade for the space of nine dayes, about this Island of Capul, where we had diverse kinds of fresh victualls, with excellent fresh water in every bay, and great store of wood. The people of this Island go almost all naked, and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their wastes, of some kind of linnen of their owne weaving, which is made of Plantan-leaves, and another stroope comming from their backe under their twistes, which covereth their privy parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their navels; which is this. Every man and man-child among them, hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his privie part, being split in the lower ende, and rivetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a Crowne: which is driven through their privities when they be yong, and the place groweth up againe, without any great paine to the child: and they

The manner of the people of Capul.

A strange naile in the yards of men to prevent Sodomy, for which purpose in Pegu they weare in the same part balls.

take this nayle out and in as occasion serveth; and for the truth thereof, we our selves have taken one of these nayles from a Sonne of one of the Kings, which was of the age of tenne yeeres, who did weare the same in his privy member. This custome was granted at the request of the women of the Countrey, who finding their men to be given to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the Magistrates. Moreover, all the males are circumcised, having the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. *Circumcision.* These people wholly worshippe the Devill, and oftentimes have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

On the three and twentieth, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused all the Principals of this Island, and of an hundred Islands more, which hee had made to pay Tribute unto him (which Tribute was in Hogges, Hennes, Potatoes, and Cocos) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his Company knowne unto them, that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and thereupon spred his Ensigne, and sounded up the Drummes, which they much marvelled at. To conclude, they promised both themselves and all the Islands thereabout, to ayde him, whensoever hee should come againe to overcome the Spaniards. Also our Generall gave them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniards, Money back againe for all their Tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marvellous friendly, and rowed about our shippe, to shew us pleasure, marvellous swiftly. At the last, our Generall caused a Saker to be shot off; whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaves of us.

[1. ii. 68.] *The inhabitants of Capul, with all the Islands adjoyning, promise to ayde the English against the Spaniards.*

The next day, being the foure and twentieth of January, wee set sayle about six of the clocke in the morning, and ran along the Coast of the Island of Manilla, shaping our course Northwest, betweene the Isle of Manilla, and the Isle of Masbat. *Our departure from the Island of Capul. The Isle of Masbat.*

The eight and twentieth day, in the morning about

seven of the clocke, riding at an anchor betwixt two Islands, wee espyed a Frigat under her two Coarses, comming out betweene two other Islands, which (as wee imagined) came from Manilla, sayling close aboord the shore, along the maine Island of Panama. Here wee rode at anchor all that night, and perceived that certaine Spaniards (which came from Manilla to Ragaun, to fetch a new shippe of the Kings, there builded) had dispersed their Band into two or three parts, and kept great Watch in severall steedes, with Fires, and shooting off their Pieces. This Island hath much plaine Ground in it, in many places, and many faire and straight Trees doe grow upon it, fit for to make excellent good Masts for all sorts of shippes. There are also Mynes of very fine Gold in it, which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great Island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other Nation. The people which inhabite it, are all Negros, and the Island is called the Island of Negros; and is almost as bigge as England, standing in nine degrees: The most part of it seemeth to be very lowe Land, and by all likelyhood is very fruitfull.

The Island of Panama.

Mines of very fine Gold, in the Island of Panama.

The Island of Negros, in nine degrees.

Their departure from the Philippina's.

The nine and twentieth day of January, about six of the clocke in the morning wee set sayle, sending our Boat before, untill it was two of the clocke in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a Strait, betwixt the said two Islands of Panama, and the Island of Negros; and about sixteene Leagues off, wee espyed a faire opening, trending South-west and by South: at which time our Boat came aboord, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish Captaine, which wee came from the Evening before, by a Spaniard which wee had taken, and willed him to provide good store of Gold; for hee meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within few yeeres; and that hee did but want a bigger Boat to have landed his men, or else he would have seene him then; and so caused him to be set on shore.

The eight day of February, by eight of the clocke in

the morning, wee espyed an Island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctiall Line, Northward. *Batochina.*

The foureteenth day of February, wee fell with eleven or twelve very small Islands, lying very low and flat, full of Trees, and passed by some Islands which bee sunke, and have the drie Sands lying in the maine Sea. These Islands neere the Malucco's, stand in three degrees and ten minutes, to the Southward of the Line. *11. or 12. small Islands, in 3. degrees, 10. minutes to the Southward.*

The first day of March having passed through the Straits of Java minor and Java major, wee came to an anchor under the Southwest parts of Java major: where wee espyed certaine of the people, which were fishing by the Sea side, in a Bay which was under the Island. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco Tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those Fishers; which having espyed our Boat, ranne on shore into the Wood, for feare of our men: But our Generall caused his Negro to call unto them; who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side, and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh Water, which they found, and caused the Fisher to goe to the King, and to certifie him of a shippe that was come, to have Traffique for Victuals, and for Diamants, Pearles, or any other rich Jewels that hee had. *March, 1588. Our arrivall at Java Major.* *The Morisco or Arabian Tongue common in Java.*

And on the twelfth of March, there came nine or ten of the Kings Canoas so deepely laden with Victuals as they could swimme, with two great live Oxen, halfe a score of wonderfull great and fat Hogges, a number of Hennes, Drakes, Geese, Egges, Plantans, Sugar Canes, Sugar in Plates, Cocos, sweet Oranges and sowre, Lymes, great store of Wine and Aqua-vitæ, Salt to season Victuals withall, and almost all manner of Victuals else, with divers of the Kings Officers, which were there. *Nine or ten of the Kings Canoas.*

There came two Portugals to us, which enquired of Don Antonio their King, then in England, and told us

of the Javanes, as followeth. The name of the King of
Raja Bolamboam. that part of the Island was Raja Bolamboam, who was a man had in great majestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other Nation, without speciall licence from their King; and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred Wives, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the Countrey is, that whensoever the King doth die, they take the body so dead, and burne it, and preserve the ashes of him, and within five dayes next
[I. ii. 69.] after, the Wives of the said King so dead, according to
The wives kill themselves after their husbands deaths. the custome and use of their Countrey, every one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the Women, which was neerest unto him in accompt, hath a Ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the Ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the East-ward, and every one with a Dagger in their hand, (which Dagger they call a Crise,
A strange order. and is as sharpe as a Rasor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all to be-bath themselves in their owne blood, and falling groveling on their faces, so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange. The men of themselves be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their King. For example: If their King command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For he will cut off the heads of every one of them which return alive without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast-parts of the world: for they never feare any death. For beeing in fight with any Nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with Launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe upon the weapon quite through his body, to procure

his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or overcome his enemie. Moreover, although the men bee tawnie of colour, and goe continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion, and goe more apparelled. They told us further, that if their King Don Antonio, would come unto them, they would warrant him to have all the Malucos at commandement, besides China, Sangles, and the Isles of the Philippinas, and that he might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Java which brought us victualls in their Canoas, they tooke their leaves of us, with promise of all good entertainement at our returnes, and our Generall gave them three great pieces of Ordnance at their departing.

Faire women in Java.

Don Antonio might be received as King in the East Indies.

Thus the next day, being the sixteenth of March, we set sayle towards the Cape of good Hope, called by the Portugals, Cabo de buena Esperancza, on the Southermost coast of Africa. The rest of March, and all the moneth of Aprill, we spent in traversing that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the Isle of Java, and the maine of Africa, observing the heavens, the Crosiers or Southpole, the other starres, the fowles, which are markes unto the Seamen of faire weather, foule weather, approching of Lands, or Islands, the winds, the tempests, the raines and thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

They depart from Java the 16. of March, 1588.

The eleventh of May in the morning one of the company went into the toppe, and espyed Land bearing North, and North and by West off us, and about noone we espyed land to beare West off us, which as we did imagine was the Cape of Buena Esperancza, whereof indeede wee were short some fortie or fiftie leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde, we stood along to the South-east untill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward. The twelfth and thirteenth dayes we were becalmed, and the skie was very hazie, and thicke, untill the foureteenth day at three of

the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the skie cleared, and we espied the Land againe, which was the Cape called *Cabo Falso.* Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperanza forty or fiftie leagues. This Cape is very easie to be known. For there are right over it three very high hills, standing but a small way one off another, and the highest standeth in the middest, and the ground is much lower by the Sea side. The Cape of Good Hope, beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

The sixteenth day of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the Wind came up at East a very stiffe gale, which held untill it was Saturday with as much wind as ever the Shippe could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning we espied the Promontorie or Head-land, called the Cape de Buena Esperanza, which is a reasonable high land, and at the Westermost point a little off the maine do shew two Hammocks, the one upon the other, and three other Hammocks lying further off into the Sea, yet low land betweene and adjoyning unto the Sea. This cape of Buena Esperanza is set downe and accompted for two thousand leagues from the Island of Java in the Portugall Sea-carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our Ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues, just nine weekes.

They double the Cape de Bona Speranza.

From Java to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850. leagues.

June 1588. The eight day of June, by breake of day we fell in sight of the Island of S. Helena, seaven or eight leagues short of it, having but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: insomuch as wee could not get unto it that day, but stood off and on all that night. The next day having a prety easie gale of winde, we stood in with the shore, our Boat beeing sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor in twelve fathomes water, two or three Cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth Bay, under the Northwest-side of the Island. This Island is very high land, and lieth in the maine Sea,

They anchor at the Iland of S. Helena the 9. of June.

standing as it were in the middest of the Sea, betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia, and the coast of Guinea: and is in fifteene degrees and fortie eight minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperanza betweene five and sixe hundred leagues. Here we went on shore, and entred the Church, which was hanged with painted clothes, having an Altar with a picture of the Crucifixe and Blessed Virgine in a Table. There is a causey to the Church, two houses also adjoyning, a frame with two Bells, and a Crosse of free-stone. The valley where it stands is pleasant, and planted in every place either with fruit trees, or with herbes. There are fig-trees, which beare fruit continually, and marvellous plentifull: for on every tree you shall have blossomes, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at once: and it is so all the yeere long: the reason is, that the Island standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of Lymmon-trees, Orange-trees, Pomegranate-trees, Pomecitron-trees, Date-trees, which beare fruit as the Figge-trees doe, and are planted carefully and very artificially, with very pleasant walkes under and betweene them, and the said walkes bee over-shadowed with the leaves of the trees: and in every voide place is planted Parsly, Sorell, Basill, Fenell, Annis-seed, Mustard-seed, Raddishes, and many speciall good herbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth thorough diverse places of this Orchyard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward. [I. ii. 70.]

The great store of diverse excellent fruits in S. Helena.

There is also upon this Island great store of Partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get up into the steepe cliffes; we killed some of them with a fowling Piece. They be within a little as bigge as a henne, and are of an ash-colour, and live in Covies twelve, sixteene, and twenty together: you cannot goe tenne or twelve score, but you shall set or spring one or two Covies at the least. There are likewise no lesse store of Fesants in the Island, which are

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

Great store of Feasants.

surpassing those which are in our Countrey in bignesse, and in numbers of a companie. We found moreover in this place great store of Guinie-cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Turkies in great quantity.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

There are in this Island thousands of Goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wild: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may behold them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them are as big as an Asse, with a mayne like an Horse, and a beard hanging downe to the very ground. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them upon the mountaines. Here are in like manner great store of swine which be very wilde, fat, and large; they keepe altogether upon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it bee by meere chance when they are found asleepe, or otherwise according to their kind, bee taken laid in the mire.

Plentie of Swine.

We found in the houses at our comming three slaves, which were Negros, and one which was borne in the Island of Java: For the Portugals use to touch and refresh here at their returne from the Indies, and leave their sicke persons to be taken in by the next Fleet.

Our departure from S. Helena.

The twentieth day of June having taken in wood and water, and refreshed our selves with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set sayle about eight of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile, we had the winde at Southeast, and wee haled away Northwest and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this Island of S. Helena.

On Friday in the morning beeing the three and twentieth day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost Islands of the Azores.

On Saturday the foure and twentieth day of the said moneth, by five of the clocke in the morning we fell in sight of the two Islands of Flores and Corvo, standing in thirtie nine degrees and ½, and sailed away Northeast. *Corvo and Flores, two Islands of the Azores.*

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, and declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singular rejoycing and comfort of us all.

The ninth of September, after a terrible tempest which carried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull favour of the Almightie, we recovered our long wished Port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set forth at the beginning of our Voyage.

A Letter of Master Thomas Candish to the Right Honourable the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell, touching the successe of his Voyage about the World.

RIght Honourable, as your favour heretofore hath beene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there bee no meanes in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make knowne unto her Majestie, the desire I have had to doe her Majestie service in the performance of this Voyage. And as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her overthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their warres, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please her Majestie, with a very small power she may take the spoyle of them all. It hath pleased the Almightie to suffer me to circompasse the whole Globe of the World, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the Cape de Buena Esperanza. In [I. ii. 71.]

which Voyage I have either discovered, or brought certaine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were knowne or discovered by any Christian. I navigated alongst the Coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoyles: I burnt and sunke nineteene sayles of Ships small and great. All the Villages and Townes that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoyled: and had I not beene discovered upon the Coast, I had taken great quantitie of Treasure. The matter of most profit unto me, was a great ship of the Kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, beeing one of the richest of merchandize that ever passed those Seas, as the King's Register and marchants accounts did shew: for it did amount in value to *in Mexico to be sold. Which goods (for that my Ships were not able to containe the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nueva Espanna, I navigated to the Islands of the Philippinas, hard upon the Coast of China; of which Countrey I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which Countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that Countrey, I should have beene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sayled along the Islands of the Malucos, where among some of the Heathen people I was well intreated, where our Countrey-men may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and found out by the way homeward the Island of S. Helena, where the Portugals use to relieve themselves: and from that Island God hath suffered me to returne into England. All which services with my selfe, I humbly prostrate at her Majesties feete, desiring the Almightie long to continue her Reigne among us: for at this day shee is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the World.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your Honour for my tediousnesse, I leave your Lordship to the tuition of the Almightie. Plimmouth this ninth of September, 1588.

Your Honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

Chap. V.

The Voyage of Oliver Noort round about the Globe, beeing the fourth Circum-Navigation of the same, extracted out of the Latine Diarie.

IN the yeere 1598. on the second day of July, the Maurice and the Concord set forth from Roterdam: and on the thirteenth of September, the Henry Frederike, and the Hope came up to them, where they stayed for them on the Coast of England. Their chiefe Pilot was Captaine *Melis, an Englishman, which had encompassed the Circumference with M. Thomas Candish. On the nineteenth they came before Plimmouth, where the Vice-admiralls boat with sixe men forsooke them. On the seven and twentieth they tooke two ships of Biscay, and after some view of them let them depart.

October the fourth, they met foure shippes, one of Amsterdam, another of England, and two French comming out of Barbarie, which related of the terrible pestilence in that countrey, of which two hundred and fiftie thousand men in short space had died in Morocco. On the sixt, they were betwixt the Great Canarie and Teneriffe. On the eight, the Vice-admirall lost her Boat, with one man, the night and winde severing them. On the ninth, they had almost runne on shore on the Coast of Barbary, by mis-understanding the English Pilot, who had bidden them steere Southwest, and they held their course South, till they were within halfe a mile of Land. On

** Captaine Melis an English man in this Voyage, M. Adams in the next, Guides and Pilots to the Hollanders in their Circumnavigations; as M. Davies, and others afterwards in their first Indian Voyages. Their exploits are honours to the English.*

the third of November, they had sight of the Coast of Guinea. On December the fourth, they were hard by Cape Palma, in 3. ½. On the tenth, they had sight of the *Ila del Principe.* Princes Ile, and made to it with no little comfort, after they had beene so long weather-beaten at sea. It standeth in one degree, ½. They sent their Boats first for Discoverie, and having entred with a flagge of truce, a Negro comming with a like flagge to know what they would *Treachery of the Islanders.* have. They demanding provision were kindly used, and Gerrits which knew the place, and could speake the Portu- [I. ii. 72.] gall tongue, with Captaine Melis, and one John Breme, were suddenly and treacherously slaine; Captaine Peter Esias escaped by flight to the Boats, which were furiously assayled by the Portugalls, and the Generals brother slaine, the rest hardly returning aboord. The Generall calling a Councell of warre, they agreed to assault the Castle, which having attempted with losse, they burned all their Sugar houses, and with force provided themselves with fresh water. On the seventeenth they departed, but the South wind hindred them. On the five and twentieth they *Cape Consalvo.* reached Cape Consalvo, where the wind usually in the night bloweth from Land, in the day from Sea. Heere they went on shore and found two Dutch Ships, and learned that Peter Verhagens had stayed a moneth in this place, and buried eight and thirtie of his companie, many other being sicke. He entred the River of Congo, and was forced to retire hither, and a fortnight before was departed for Anobon. He learned also that Captaine Cleerhagen, with a great part of his company were slaine in the Princes Island, the rest hardly escaping to and in their Ships. On the sixe and twentieth, they set sayle from the Cape towards Brasil.

1599. On the first day of Januarie, 1599. they passed the Isle Anobon, and found two degrees Southerly. On the eight and twentieth they had the Sunne in their Zenith. On the third of Februarie, they espied by night certaine low ground, on which the Concord had like to have made a fatall discord. On the fift, they reached the Land of

A.D. 1599.

Brasil, at Cape Saint Thomas in two and twentie. On the sixt, they passed the Faire Cape, and in the Evening Cape Frio. On the ninth, they came to Rio Janero. After some losse of time, and their company by Portugal-wiles they departed to Saint Sebastian, where they had Fresh-water, Wood, and safe Harbour, but found no fruits. On the fourteenth of March, a cruell Storme assailed them, and severed the Vice-Admirall and the Hope, which yet on the seventeenth were restored againe to the Fleet. The Concord also leaked so much, that they agreed to emptie the goods, and forsooke her. But the Scorbute increasing, and the Winter approaching, made them resolve to seeke the Isle of Saint Helena, which they did, but missed it, and therefore thought to releeve themselves in the Ascension, or some other Island. In 20½. they came to the Island, but barren and in-hospitall, save that with Clubbes they knocked downe many Fowles called Malle Mewen. But the Rockes without, and barrennesse within forced their departure, and when on the first of June, they had thought to have encountred the Isle Ascension, they found it the Continent of Brasil: which they imagined to have beene fourescore miles distant. The Portugalls prohibiting their landing, they came at last to the Isle of Saint Clara, and there erected Tents for their sicke people, some of which presently died. Heere they found little but Herbes, and two Trees of sower Plumbes, which cured the sicke in fifteene dayes. The Island is a * Mile in Compasse, and as farre from the Continent. Here they burned the Concord, having before taken out what they pleased: they also exposed two Malefactors to their forlorne fortunes. This Isle is in one and twentie degrees, fifteene minutes Southwards from the Line. On the sixteenth of July they determined to seeke Port Desire, which after many tempests they came to, on the twentieth of September in fortie seven degrees fortie minutes. In an Island three miles from thence Southwards, they furnished themselves with store of Penguins & fishes. Of those Fowles they took fifty thousand,

Cape Saint Thomas.
Faire Cape.
Cape Frio.
Rio Janero.
S. Sebastian.
S. Clara.
** By Miles understand Dutch Miles.*
Port Desire.

being as bigge as Geese, with Egges innumerable, which prooved very refreshing to the diseased. Here they careened their Ships and set up a Smiths Forge. They went up the Rivers the fift of October, and going on Land, found Beasts like Stagges and Buffals, and multitudes of Ostreches; in one Nest they tooke nineteene Egges, which the Damme had forsaken. The Captaine of the Hope dying of the Scorbute, the Captaine of the Concord was chosen his successour, and the Ship also was termed the Concord.

On the twentieth day, the Generall went on Land, to descrie the Country, giving strait charge to looke well to the Boats, and not to stirre from them, which they transgressing, were out of ambushes set on by thirtie Savages, and three slaine, besides the fourth wounded. These Savages were of admirable stature, painted unto terrour, their Bowes short, their Arrowes headed with Stone. On the nine and twentieth they prepared to depart. On the fourth of November, they were neere Cape Virgines; the Land is low and plaine, by the whitenesse resembling England. Often they hence attempted to enter the Straights, but often entred straights with that attempt, repelled by tempestuous Windes, Raine, Hailes, Snowes, Sicknesse and Contention adding their subsidiarie assistance. These sensible crosses were accompanied with losses of Anchors, Cables, and (that which is most irrecoverable) time, little lesse then fifteene moneths being spent before they could fasten any good entrance into the Straights; although they justly seemed engulphed in the straights all this time, and all their way hither, having paid the lives of almost a hundred of their company for Sea-custome. From the said Cape the Land trends South-Westward: the Straights mouth is hence fourteene miles, and halfe a mile in breadth. On the South side thereof they espied a man, with a kind of cloke, supposed therefore but falsly, to be a Christian, his face painted, and stature ordinarie, whom in vaine they invited to their Company. They saw many others, and on the five & twentieth they espied many men, in two Islands neere

Cape Virgines.

the Cape, which they called Nassau, who forbad the Hollanders landing, with their Darts and other weapons, but were chased to an obscure Cave, where they were all slaine, before the Dutch could winne entrance. There they found the amazed and affrighted mothers, lying prostrate on their Infants to protect them from that fatall Thunder, from whom they tooke foure Boyes and two Girles, and with them returned aboord. Of one of these having learned to speake Dutch, they received this intelligence; the Lands name was Castemme, this People or Tribe called Enoo. The name of the lesser Island Talcke, both stored with Penguins, whose Flesh yeelded them food, their Skinnes clothing. They dwelt in Caves under the Earth. In the Continent are many Ostriches whereon they feed: these they call Talcke, and another kind of wild beasts Cassoni. They dwell in severall Tribes or Families apart, whereof one is called Kemenetes dwelling in Karay, another Kennekas in Karamay, a third Karaike in Morine, all of stature like ours, except their broader and higher breasts, painted, the men tying their privie member with a string, the women hiding theirs with a Penguins skinne. The men weare long haire, the women are shaven. They goe naked, onely weare a cloke of Penguin skinnes to the wast. The like covering they make of other birds called Oripeggre; the Pengwins they call Comppogre. These skinnes they compact together with no lesse industrie and Art then Skinners doe with us. There is a fourth Family or Tribe, named Tirimenen, and the place of their habitation Coin, of giantly stature tenne or twelve foote high, which have often warres with the other Lords or Tribes, whom they call Pengwine-eaters, whereby it seemes they use other meat, haply Mans-flesh.

Cape Nassau.

[I. ii. 73.]

Castemme.

Talcke.

Manners of the Inhabitants.

Giants: see the next storie annexed of Seb. de Weert.

On the sixe and twentieth, they tooke three hundred Pengwines on the Isles bearing that name. Before they come at these Pengwine Isles twixt two straits are shoalds, and an Island called Pantagoms. On the eight and twentieth day they passed to the Continent, and saw Whales. They encountered a pleasant River, but saw not the mouth

of it; there were many Parrots and faire Trees, whereupon they called it Summer-bay. On the nine and twentieth, they set sayle for wood and water to Port Famine. Heere the Land trends so farre to the South, that Pantagoms, and Terra Fuego seeme afarre off to joyne. Heere they found no foot prints of the late Philip-Citie, now liker a heape of stones. The Magellane strait is distant thence about foure Dutch miles. The hills on both sides are steep and high all the yeere-long covered with store of Snow. Here they cut downe wood to make them another Boat. The Barkes of the Trees in these parts bite like Pepper. But finding no good watering, and doubting also whether it were Philip-Citie, or Port Famine indeed, they departed, and after two miles found a good River, whence they had easie provision, on the first of December. The next day they passed to Cape Froward, which having doubled with great danger, by reason of unsafe anchorage and contrary wind, they anchored at eighteene fadomes, foure miles from thence in a great Bay. Heere was good watering, and an Herb like Neeswort, profitable against the Scorbute. Some Souldiers tasting of another Herb there growing, were well-nigh distracted for a time. A mile off they found a fit place to build their Boat, in which they spent twelve dayes. Here they had sight of Sebalt de Weert his Ship, one of Peter * Verhagens company, which with another of the same Fleet, had beene driven backe out of the South sea. Hee reported that he had spent above five moneths in the Strait, and lost by diseases, and otherwise, so many of his men, that of an hundred and ten, there were left but eight and thirtie, whence hee was not able to indure the stormes which assaulted him in the South sea, but was forced hither, when the rest of the Fleet better manned held on their course. Thus hard newes, stormes, and mutinies finished this moneth and yeare.

Summer Bay.

Port Famine.

Pantagoms.

Terra Fuego is the Land on the South of the Straights, since found to bee but Islands.

Philips Citie.

Cape Froward.

** Sir Jaques Mahu (or as Adams calls him, Mahay) went out Generall of this Fleet: who died in the Isle of Brava, and Simon de Coordes succeeded. It is here called Peter Verhagens company, because he was then chief of the Indian company which set them forth.*

On the second of Januarie * they made search of Maurice Bay, which they observed to extend farre to the East, and to receive store of Rivers flowing into it, at the

**1600.*

Maurice Bay.

mouthes whereof they found great store of Ice in their judgement never melted. For sounding ten fathomes they could not reach the bottome thereof, this their Mid-summer season notwithstanding. They conjectured the Land also to be broken Islands, which the height of the mountaines made to seeme continued and firme. They indured continuall raines, nor could get ought there but Muskles, which on the eighth they going to gather, the lesser Boat out-sailing her fellowes, two of her men were slaine and wounded by the Savages. Their weapons were heavie Clubbes, with Ropes tied to them, and long Darts of Wood. At the landing of the greater Boat they all fled. Having indured divers stormes, which indangered them on the Rocks in Meniste Bay, and some encounter of the Savages which had left three Canoas under a high hill, and with stones defended them from the Hollanders, they departed on the seventeenth day, and by a storme were driven into Goose Bay, three miles distant, so called of the store of that Fowle there found fit for swimming and long diving, but unable to flie. Here the Vice-Admirall for divers misdemeanours, was by a Councell of Warre adjudged to be set on land, which was accordingly executed, where Famine, or wilde beasts, or wilder men must needs make an end of his mutinous unquiet life. On the first of Februarie they entred a new Bay, which they called Popish Bay, where the Admirall was like to have perished on a sunken Rocke. Heere they had store of stormes, thunders, lightnings; and Muscles in a broad River which runnes into it. On the seven and twentieth they had view of a huge mountain of Ice in Goose Bay. On the last of February they passed Cape Desire into the South sea, with thanks to the Almighty for that happy successe. This sea was not so peaceable, but that it entertained them with divers daies stormes, in which they lost their Boat. Their company was now an hundred fortie seven. On the twelfth of March they lost sight of the Vice-admirall, whom having in vaine expected they went to the Iland La Mocha, in thirtie eight degrees, in

Ice all the yeere long in the Straights. The same report hath Seb. de Weert.

Meniste Bay.

Goose Bay.

Popish Bay.

Cape Desire.

[I. ii. 74.]

La Mocha.

the midst whereof is an high mountaine, cleaving it selfe in the toppe to yeeld waters to the subject valley. Here they bartered Hatchets and Knives for Sheep, Hennes, Maiz, Battalas, and other fruits. They went to the towne which hath some fiftie houses of strawe, long, with one doore, into which they might not be admitted. They gave them drinke called Cici, somewhat sowerish, made of Mays, which the toothlesse old women chew (supposing that the elder the Women are, the better shall their drinke be) and steepe it in water, reserving it for necessary use, and for their drunken feasts, drinking in a misordered order at the sound which one makes with his mouth, according to their Bacchanall mysteries, measuring to each his proportioned measure with unmeasurable disproportion. They have many wives which they buy of their Parents, so that the Father of many daughters is the richest man. Their life is loose, scarcely subject to any law. If any kill another, the kinred of the slain revenge it, unlesse some intercessors prevaile to procure a yeerely Cici-festivall in recompence. The Inhabitants of Chili observe like customes. They are clothed above and belowe with garments made of the wooll of large Sheepe with long necks, which they use also to burthens, of which kind they would sell none to the Dutch, but of another fat kind not much unlike ours. This Island is about sixe miles from the Continent. From it eighteene miles lieth another, called S. Maries, in thirty seven degrees, and fifteene minutes of Southerly latitude. Here they had sight of a Spanish shippe, which they chased and tooke. This ship they said was the Kings, sent with Lard and Meale to Arauco and Conception, where they have warre with the Indians. The Pilot certified them, that it was impossible for them to recover S. Maries, from whence they had chased this shippe to thirtie five degrees, by reason of the Southerly winds. They told them of two shippes of warre waiting for intelligence of their comming in Arica. They hereupon presently determined for Val Paraiso, and so lost their Vice-admirall altogether: whom they sup-

Cici drinke.

S. Maries an Island rich in Gold.

Val Paraiso.

posed to have lost that Isle of S. Maries, by the wrong placing thereof in Plancius his Mappe, in thirty eight degrees, whereas it is in thirty seven degrees and fiftene minutes. They themselves had also beene deceived, but for notes of Captaine Melis, the Englishman which they had and followed. They heard also of Simon de Cordes his arrivall there, who by a Spaniard dissembling amity, was invited to land, and so betrayed to the Indians butchery, with twenty three men, beeing mistaken for Spaniards, their heads set upon poles, and in a glorious ostentation shewed to the Spaniards in Conception. The Spaniards made faire semblance of kindnesse, so to have possessed themselves of their two shippes, of which they sent notice to Lima, but the Hollanders mistrusting departed they knew not whither. The Spaniards in Lyma had received intelligence a yeere before their comming of the Hollanders, and of the names of their chiefe men, and provided themselves accordingly.

Note the helpe which the Dutch had by Englishmens notes.

W. Adams makes mention of this fight, who in the same ship came to Japon.

In Val Paraiso or S. Iago they tooke two shippes, and slew many Indians, but the Spaniards were fled. This Val Paraiso is in three and thirtie degrees of the South latitude, and S. Iago is from it eighteene miles within land, a Towne fertile of Wine much like Claret in tast and colour. There are plenty of Sheepe which they kill onely for their sewet, wherewith they lade whole shippes. The whole Countrey is fruitfull. Here they received letters from Derick Gerritz, Captaine of the Flying Hart, one of Verhagens companie, who thinking to trade with the Spaniards there, having but nine sound men in his shippe, was suddenly assaulted, wounded, and imprisoned, where he wrote these miserable lines. His famine proceeded from the missing of S. Maries Iland, upon that wrong placing in the Mappe aforesaid, so that meere famine brought him to these Straits.

S. Iago.

Sheep plenty.

In S. Iago they had intercepted Letters, which related the occurrents of the warres of Chili, the Indians rebelling against the Spaniards, and forcing Baldivia, the foure and twentieth of November, 1599. slaying and carrying away

Warres betwixt the Spaniards & Chili.

Baldivia.

captive the Inhabitants. Two hundred Spaniards sent from Lyma did againe there fortifie. The Indians likewise *Imperial.* besieged the Citie Imperial, and had now almost famished the Spaniards. These Indians are good and expert souldiers, of which five thousand were in this expedition: three thousand of them Horsemen, skilfull at their Launces, and an hundred Shot, seventie Costlets. All which furniture they had taken from the Spaniards in many victories. They so hate the Spaniards, that of whomsoever they kil, they plucke out his heart and bite it, and make drinking vessels of their skuls. They use Orations to incourage them to the maintenance of their pristine libertie against the Spanish tyrannie. They have one chiefe Captaine onely in time of Warre. The first choise of him in their first Spanish warre was in this sort: A heavy piece of timber was by all the Competitors carried on their shoulders, which while it wearied the most to beare five or sixe houres, one was found strong enough to endure it foure and twenty together, and thereby attained *Fertility of Chili.* this Ducall honour. The Region of Chili, from S. Iago to Baldivia, is the most fertile in the world, and of most wholesome ayre, insomuch that few are there sicke; yea, a sword put up into the scabbard all wet with the dewe, doth not therewith rust. Fruits, Mays, Hogges, Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goats, are plentifull and wander in great herds, besides Gold-mines. In the sacke of Baldivia they [I. ii. 75.] burned Houses, Temples, Monasteries, and striking off the heads of their Images, cried, Downe goe the gods of the Spaniards. They thrust Gold into their mouthes, and bid them satiate themselves with that for which they had raised such persecutions, and of which they made such unsatiable prosecution.

La Guasco. On the first of Aprill they entred the Bay La Guasco, and thence on the seventh departed. On the eleventh *Morre Gorch & M. Morrene.* they came into a great nooke called Morre Gorch, tenne miles from which is Morre Morrene, from which the shore is extended to Aricca, all which tract to S. Francis hill is usually subject to Southwinds, and farre in the Sea the

Winde variable. On the twentieth, the aire was darke, that a man could not see above a stones cast. The cause was a cloud of dust like meale, which whited their clothes in like manner. The Spanish Pilot told them it was usuall in those parts, by them called Arenales. It lasted all day, and caused the Generall to loose his two other consorts till two dayes after. On the five and twentieth, they sawe Lyma bearing East from them. Here the Negroes confessed, that in one of the shippes which they had taken, the Captaine envying the Hollanders such wealth, when he saw hee could not escape, had throwne into the Sea three Boats loading of Gold. The Pilot being examined, confessed that there were two and fiftie Chests of Gold, whereof each had foure Aroben, and five hundred Pots, in each of which, was eight, tenne, or twelve pounds of Gold. He caused also everie man to bring foorth whatsoever hee had and throw it into the Sea. This Gold came from Saint Maries Island, which three or foure Spaniards possessed imploying two thousand Indians in the Mine.

Cloud of dust.

Lyma.

Intelligence of Gold in Saint Maries.

On the nine and twentie, they espied two sayles, and gave them chase in vaine, those Ships built for that Sea (where from Panama to Lyma they sayle most-what against the wind which is usually constant) out stripping the Hollanders exceedingly. The twentieth of May, after that they had laboured in vaine to attaine the Isle of Coquos in five degrees of Notherly latitude, they purposed to avoid the danger of the Spanish men of warre, whereof they had intelligence, to set sayle to the Ladicues, and thence to the Philippinas. Much raine they had in the way, not without this benefit to supply their want of water. The thirtieth of June, the Spanish Pilot was for ill demeanures, by publike sentence, cast over-boord. A prosperous wind happily succeeded.

I. Coquos.

On the fifteenth of September, they had sight of the Ladrones. On the sixteenth, the Indians came in their Canoas, with Fish, Coquos, Bonnanas, Rootes, Sugar-canes, to barter for old pieces of yron: sometimes they might number two hundred of these Canoas, with two,

Guana, an Island of the Ladrones.

three, or five men in each, all crying Hiero, Hiero, that is, Yron, Yron, with greedinesse overturning their Canoas against the shippes side, which they regarded not, beeing expert swimmers, and could easily recover their Boats, goods, and selves. They were subtile deceivers, covering a Basket of Coquo shels, with a little Rice in the toppe, as if they had been full of Rice; and upon fit opportunitie snatching a Sword out of the scabbard, and leaping into the Sea, where with deepe and long diving, they secured themselves from shot. The Women are herein equall to the men. They will fetch a piece of yron from the bottome of the Sea. Their Boats are neatly compact, of fifteene or twenty foot long, and 1½. broad, wherewith they saile against the wind, and if they must turne, they never alter their sayle, but with the Poope cut the waves. Their women cover their privitie with a leafe, otherwise naked both men and women, like the pictures of Adam and Eve. They are libidinous, and have thereof many pockie testimonies. This Iland was called Guana, neither saw they any other. It was twentie miles large. These fruits were very comfortable to their sicke men of the Scorbute.

Philippinæ. On the seventeenth, they set sayle for the Philippinas. On the twentieth, they had Ice, being then in three degrees. Sixe weekes together they dranke only raine water. On the fourteenth of October, they espied land, *Cape Sancto Spirito.* and thought, but falsly, that it had beene the Cape of the Holy Ghost. On the sixteenth day, there came a Balsy or Canoa, and in the same a Spaniard, which fearing to come aboord, they displayed a Spanish flagge, and attired one like a Friar to allure him. Which taking effect, the Generall saluted him, and told him they were Frenchmen, with the Kings commission bound for Manilla, but wanting necessaries, and not knowing where they now were, having lost their Pilot. The Spaniard answered, this place *Bay la bay.* was called Bay la Bay, seven or eight miles to the North, from the straight of Manilla. The Land was fertile, and hee commanded the Indians to bring Rice, Hogges, and Hennes: which was presently effected, and sold for readie

money. His name was Henry Nunes. The next day Francisio Rodrigo, the Governour came to the Ship and did likewise. The Indians go most naked, their skinnes drawne out with indelible lines and figures. They pay for their heads to the Spaniard, tenne single Ryalls for every one above twentie yeeres old. There are few Spaniards, and but one Priest which is of great esteeme: and had they Priests enough, all the neighbour Nations would bee subject to the Spaniard. Being furnished with necessarie provision, and now also discovered, they departed for the Straight of Manilla, and were in no small danger of a Rocke the same night. This whole Tract is wast, barren, and full of Rockes. A storme of wind had almost robbed them the next day of their Masts and Sayles, which with such sudden violence assayled them from the South-East, that in their stormie and tedious voyage, they had not encountered a more terrible. On the three and twentieth, some went on Land, and eat Palmitos, and dranke water, after which followed the bloudie Fluxe, whether of this cause, or the landing after so long a being at Sea, uncertaine. The foure and twentieth, they entred the straight and sayled by the Island in the midst, and in the Evening passed by the Isle Capul, seven miles within the straight, neere which they found many Whirle-Pooles, which at first seemed Shoalds but they could find no bottome. The people were all fled. Heere they lost a Londoner, John * Caldwey, an excellent Musician surprized, as was suspected, by some insidiarie Indians; whereupon they burned their Villages. Manilla is eightie miles from Capul, which now they left to attaine the other, but in a calme winde, with violent working of the waves, were much tossed without much danger, by reason of the depth. They wanted a Pilot, and their Maps were uncertaine.

Straight of Manilla.

[I. ii. 76.]

Note.

Capul.

* *Caldwey a Londoner.*

The seventh of November, they tooke a China Junke, laden with provision for Manilla. The owner was of Canton, the Master and Mariners of Chincheo. This Master was expert in the Portugall tongue, and their

Mexican trade yeerely at Manilla.

Indian affaires, which happened verie luckily to the Hollanders ignorant of their course. These told them that in Manilla were two great Shippes, which from new Spaine yeerely sayled thither; that there was also a Dutch Shippe bought at Malava: These ride before Manilla, and there are two Castles or Forts to secure them; the Citie also walled about, and without it above fifteene thousand Chinois Inhabitants, occupied in marchandize and handy-crafts: And that foure hundred China Shippes come thither yeerly from Chincheo, with Silke and other precious marchandise, betwixt December and Easter. They added that two were shortly expected from Japon with Iron, other mettalls and victualls. On the fifteenth, they tooke two Barkes laden with Hennes and Hogges, which were to bee paid for tribute to the Spaniards, for which they gave them some linnen bolts in recompence. They passed by the Isle Bankingle, and another called Mindore, right against which is the Isle Lon-bou, two miles distant, and betwixt them both, is another lesser Island, neere which is safe passage for Ships.

Bankingle.
Mindore.
Lon-bou.

They agreed upon consultation to stay in expectation of the Japonian Ships, at an Anchor (for the East wind hath the Monarchy of that season in those parts) in fifteene degrees of North Latitude. The Isle Lusson is bigger then England and Scotland, to which many Islands adjoyne. The riches arise more out of trafficke, then fertilitie. On the third of December they tooke one of the Japon Ships of fiftie tunnes, which had spent five and twentie dayes in the voyage. The forme was strange, the forepart like a Chimney, the sayles of Reed, or Matt twisted, the Anchors of Wood, the Cables of Straw. The Japanders make themselves bald, except a tuft left in the hinder part of the head. The Jesuites have the managing of the Portugall trafficke in Japon, having made way thereto by their preaching, and are in reputation with their converts, as Demi-gods: neither admit they any other order of Religion to helpe them. The Generall obtained at easie rate one of these woodden Anchors for his use,

Lusson.

Japonian ships and men.

There are some Franciscans also.

and some quantitie of provision. On the ninth, they tooke a Barke laden with Coquo Wine, like Aqua-vitæ, the people all fled; and another with Rice and Hennes.

On the fourteenth, the Ships came from Manilla, and there passed betwixt them a Sea-fight. The Spanish Admirall came so neere, and was stored with men, that they entred the Dutch Admirall, and thought themselves Masters thereof, sixe or seven still laying at one Hollander: the Vice-Admirall also set upon the smaller Ship. All day the two Admiralls were fast together, and the Dutch over-wearied with multitudes, were now upon point to yeeld, when the Admirall rated their cowardise, and threatned to blow them up with Gun-powder presently. This feare expelled the other, and the dread of fire, added reall fire to their courages, insomuch that they renued the fight, and cleared the Ship of her new Masters, which had no lesse labour to cleare their owne Shippe from the Dutch, which was no sooner done, but the Sea challenged her for his owne, and devoured her in one fatall morsell, into his unsatiable paunch. The people swamme about, crying, Misericordia, Misericordia, which a little before had cried in another dialect, Maina peros, Maina peros. Of these miserable wretches were two hundred, besides such as were before drowned or slaine. But the fire was almost as dangerous to the Dutch, as the water to the Spanish; by often shooting, the Timbers being over-heat, threatned by light flames to make the Dutch accompanie the Spaniards into Neptunes entrailes. But feare awaked diligence, and diligence cast this feare also into a dead sleep, the blessed Trinitie in almost an unitie of time, diverting a trinitie of deaths, by yeelding, sinking, firing. But in this divine mercie, they forgate not their inhumane feritie to the swimming remainders of the enemie, entertaining them with Pikes, Shot, yea (especially a Priest in his habite) with derision. In the Shippe were five Spaniards found dead with silver Boxes about them, containing little consecrated Schedules, testimonies of great and bootlesse superstition, in which they exceed the Europæan Papists,

Fight with Spaniards and Indians.

Dutch victory.

[I. ii. 77.] in the midst of Spaine and Rome. Five Hollanders were slaine and twentie six wounded in the fight, the whole company in the Ship being but five and thirtie. The *Dutch Pinnasse taken.* Pinnasse had but five and twentie, and could not withstand the violence of five hundred armed men in the enemies Vice-Admirall, some Spaniards, some Indians, which after long fight tooke her. These two were the Mexican Shippes, which yeerely trade in the Philippinas for Silke, Gold, and Muske, with other commodities of China.

Hence they departed for Borneo, to repaire the torne Ship, distant from Manilla one hundred and eightie miles, this being in five degrees, Manilla in fourteene degrees forty five minutes, (Miles you must in all this storie under- *Boluton.* stand in the Dutch account.) They sayled by Bolutan, a great Island, one hundred and eightie miles long. On *Borneo.* the sixe and twentieth they arrived at Borneo in a great Bay, containing some three miles in compasse, the water still, the ground good for ancorage, the neighbour River well stored with Fish, which the Fisher-men there dwelling changed plentifully for linnen clothes. The Generall sent to the King for license to trade. The people were very desirous of China peeces of linnen, which they had taken before Manilla, but little respected that which they brought out of Holland. On the eight and twentieth, the Pilot which hee had sent to the King returned, and a Praw of the Kings with him, in which were two brasse Peeces, and the Kings Banner. The Gunner was of Patana, in much repute with the King. He misdoubted that they were Spaniards, untill his officers had searched, and found the contrary. Here they traded for Pepper, with the Patanees, which seeme to bee of Chinese originall and observe their customes, inhabiting in a Region of their owne. Meane while they had learned that the Borneans intended treason toward them, and to begin the new yeare, Januarie first, 1601. 1601. saw an hundred Prawes assembled, and under colour of presents from the King, they sought to enter the Ship, till the Dutch vigilance and threats made them give over their designe, with colourable excuses. A Patane was the

author of this treacherie, which had slaine the Portugalls not long before, and taken their shippe, with like wile in unlike securitie.

This Island Borneo, is one of the greatest in East India. *Borneo Cape.* The Citie of the same name, is scituate in a mirie soyle, and in their Praw they may passe from one house to another. It containeth three thousand houses, besides many further up-land. It is very populous, the Inhabitants tall, subtle; goe armed all of them be they poore Husband-men, or Fisher-men. Their armes are Bowes, Javelins pointed with Iron, Forkes, Quivers with venomed Darts, which poyson to death where they draw bloud. They are all Mahumetans, and will die sooner then taste of lard, neither keepe they any swine. They have many wives, those wittie, warie in trading, bold and couragious: one of them rudelier handled by a Hollander, with a Javelin had dispatched him, if her force had not beene intercepted. They are clothed with linnen, from the wast downewards: the baser sort goe all naked: they weare on their heads a cotten Turbant. The King a child, was under a Protector. The Nobles are proud, grave, and much observed. In the midst of their Prawes stood a table with silver vessels, for their Bettele and Arecca, which they usually are chewing. Seeing little hope of trade, they determined to set sayle for Bantam. The third of Januarie, in the darke night foure Borneans came to the Ship, with purpose to cut the Cable, so to bring the Ship on ground: neither had they any more anchors but one left them on boord, and that one by which they road. But being perceived and shot at, they left their Praw, which the Hollanders tooke with them, having lost their Boat at Manilla. The next morning they set saile, and espying a Junke of Japan, learned of them that they were bound for Manilla, and forced for succour to Borneo, had spent foure moneths waiting for their voyage. The Captaine was Emanuel Powis a Portugall, then dwelling at Languasacke in Japan, the Pilot a Chinese, the company Japanders. These told them of a great Holland Ship by tempests shaken, to have

William Adams an Englishman, went chiefe Pilot in this Ship and lived above twentie yeeres in Japan. Of him you may read more hereafter. He lately died, as I heare, at Fizando, a Japonian Island.

put in at Japan, the company by famine and sickenesse all but fourteene dead. They came first to Bongo in thirtie foure degrees, fortie minutes, and by the Kings direction remooved to Atonza, in 36½. They road there in safe harbour, with foure anchors, and had freedome of their persons and trade, and to make a new Ship to goe whether they would. They conjectured hereby that it was Verhagens his Admirall Ship of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes: being as this Captaine told them well furnished with Ordnance, Ryalls of eight, and commodities. The Generall desired this Captaine at his returne, to remember his kindest greeting to his Countrey-men, and after other kindnesses departed, having given him a Passe at his request, in the name of Grave Maurice. On the thirteenth they passed the line the third time. They sayled at this time in much feare and danger for want of a Pilot, and good Cards. On the sixteenth they tooke a Junke of Jor, and furnished themselves with a skilfull Pilot out of hers, without whom he had small likelihood in those dangerous Seas to have escaped shipwracke. The Islands were many,

Crimati.

Banta, Crimati (which yeelds Diamonds, which they sell at Malacca) and others, besides sholds. They had now but one Anchor left, and the Cable thereof worne and weake.

Jortan.

On the twentie eight they came to Jortan, and heard of Holland Ships at Bantam. Heere they bought Mace and provision. Jortan hath a thousand houses all of Timber.

Passarvan.

The King was absent at Passarvan, five yeres before he had besieged Balamboa, & destroyed the King with all his

Balamboa.

[I. ii. 78.]

kindred. He is also called King of Sorbay, a Citie not far distant, all which foure Cities are Mahumetan, and very rigid in that swinish superstition. The Pagodes and Idols argue permission of Ethnike, & ancienter Indian Rites. The chiefe Priest resides in a place without the Citie of Jortan, a man of an hundred and twentie yeres, which hath many wives to keepe him warme, & with their milke to nourish him, eating no other meat. Departing hence, they saw a great Portugall Ship of sixe hundred Tunnes set fast on the shoalds, which was going

Sorba.

to Amboyna, to fortifie there against the Inhabitants, and to prohibite all other Nations trade. The fift of Februarie, they passed the straight betwixt Balamboa and Baly. And leaving Java North East from them, on the eleventh day they found themselves in thirteene degrees, & directed their course to Cape Bona Esperanza. On the eighteenth, the Sunne was right over them at noone, in the eleventh degree, twentie minutes, and a calme continued tenne dayes. The nineteenth of March, the height was twenty foure degrees, fortie five minutes, and on the foure and twentieth, twentie eight degrees, tenne minutes. On the first of April, thirtie degrees, fiftie minutes. On the nineteenth, the calmes and crosse windes caused a set allowance of water to be proportioned. On the twentie-fourth at night they saw a light like fire about foure miles to the North-West, whereby they were by Gods grace preserved from hazard. For by their reckoning they held themselves two hundred miles distant from the Cape, whereas this fire gave notice of land neere. The next day their height was thirtie foure degrees, and thirtie five minutes. The calmes gave them license to mend their Sayles. At night they saw another fire, and the next morning land, bearing North Easterly. On the twentie seven they were in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes, within sixe or seven miles of the said land.

Amboyna.

Baly.

Sunne in their Zenith.

Note.

May the second, they were in thirtie five deg. fifteene minutes, & the next morning betwixt East and North, had sight of a low land like the end of some Island about sixe miles off in eightie fathome, whereby they thought themselves neere the Cape. The Winde being at East they made Westward, and shaped their course for Saint Helena in fifteen degrees fiftie eight minutes, where on the sixe and twentieth they arrived and refreshed themselves with fresh water, store of fish, and some flesh, for the Goates and Fowles are wilde and hardly taken. They found no Oranges. On the thirtieth day they departed, and June the fourteenth, they passed the Line the fourth time. On the sixteene day they encountred sixe Dutch

Saint Helena.

ships, the Generall whereof was James Heemeskerk, bound for the East Indies. They had spent two monethes on the way, and lost their Vice-Admirall and Pinnace, having fought with thirteene Spanish Ships neere the Salt Ilands. The Pinnace was taken, the other (they hoped) escaped. July the eight, they were in twentie seven degrees, and *Weedie Sea.* had store of Weedes in the Sea called Saragossa. On the thirteenth were in thirtie two degrees, thirtie minutes, and then had fifteene dayes calme, and the Sea all full of Weed. On the twentie two they were driven to allowance of their Worme-eaten Bread.

Flores and Corves. August the first they were in fortie degrees, and left Flores and Corves to the West some forty five miles. On the eleventh they saw a Ship, and making toward it in vaine, they shot off a Peece, and strooke their maine saile: whereupon the Ship stayed, and signified the same by a shot, which when these would answere, the Peece broke and cut of the Guns foote, killed his Boy and brake the maine Mast in three pieces, whereupon they were forced to make a new. The other Ship passed from them. Three Ships of Embden encountred them on the eighteenth, and gave them bread and flesh for Pepper and Rice: and told them they were not yet attayned so neere England as their Master supposed, which had promised the Lysart the day before. On the nineteenth they had sight of the Sorlings. On the twentie five they had like to runne on ground by the Brill, and the next day anchored at Amsterdam.

Of Sebald De Wert his Voyage to the South Sea, and miserie in the Straights nine Moneths, wherein William * Adams Englishman was chiefe Pilot.

** Of W. Adams his comming to Japon followeth after in the next Book.*

BEcause mention is made of Verhagens Fleete, which passed the Straights a little before Noort I have thought good to adde somewhat touching that Voyage, Anno 1598. five Ships of Amsterdam The Hope Admirall

of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes with one hundred & thirtie persons. The Charitie Vice-Admirall of one hundred and sixtie Tunne, with an hundred and ten men. The Faith, of one hundred and sixtie Tun, with one hundred and nine men. The Fidelitie, of one hundred Tun with fourescore and sixe men. The Good Newes, of threescore and fifteene Tun with fiftie six men furnished with all necessarie provision, (Sir Jaques Mahu being Generall, Simon de Cordes Vice-Admirall, Benninghen, Bockholt and Sebalt de Wert, the three Captains of the three other Ships) set saile June the seven and twentieth. And after much a-do & little helpe at the Islands of Cape Verd where they lost their Generall, to whom Cordes succeeded and received Oath a-new of his Companie (as did each other Captaine of his owne Ship, being removed in successive order) they were forced by their owne wants and the Portugall wiles, the Scorbute or Scurvie also infecting and infesting every Ship, to depart with intent to refresh their men and make better provision [I. ii. 79.] of water and other necessaries at the Isle Anno Bueno, or Anobon. But espying land unexpected a *This land was in Congo.* hundred and twentie miles or more sooner then their reckoning about three degrees of South Latitude, they determined to goe to Cape Lopo Consalves. The people of Guinnee as they passed along the Coast yeelded a pedling Trade. The sicke men were set on shore the tenth of November. On the three twentieth a French Sayler came abord, which promised to doe them all favour with the Negro King. To him was sent Captaine Wert, who found him on a Throne scarsly one foot high with a Lambes skinne under his feet, his Garment of violet coloured cloth with guilded lace, attyred like a Rower, without shirt, shooes, or stockings, having a particoloured cloth on his head and many glasse Beades about his necke; attended with his Courtiers adorned with Cockes Feathers. The Palace was not comparable to a Stable. His provision was brought him by women, a few rosted Plantans, and smoke dryed Fish in Wooden Vessels, with Wine of

Palme in such sparing measure, that Masinissa and the renowmed Examples of Temperance might have been this Negro's Disciples. Once, the Dutch Captaine was faine (under colour of courtesie to show the King his manner of Dyet) to call for some of his Holland provision to satisfie his barking, and thus more provoked entrailes. But in the Spanish Wine the Guinean forgot his Temperance and was carryed to his rest. Little refreshing was here to be had. A Bore and two Buffals they killed in the Woods: a little they bought, a few Birds they tooke, and (which worse was) as the Scorbuto forsooke the sicke, Fevers possessed the stronger. On the eight of December they departed, and on the sixteenth arrived at Annobon. Some provision they got there by force, and that scurvie exchange of the Scurvie and Fever, and lost by sicknesse thirtie men, amongst which Thomas Spring an English yong man of great towardnesse. In the beginning of the yeare 1599. they departed for the Magellane straits. In the tenth of March in fortie two degrees, the Sea was all red as if it had beene mixed with bloud, being full of red Wormes, which taken up leaped like Fleas. On Aprill the sixt they entred the straights. At Pinguine Islands they stored themselves with thirteene or fourteene hundred. On the eighteenth they anchored in the Greene Bay in fiftie foure degrees, where they had fresh Water and large Muscles. Here they stayed till the three and twentieth of August in a perpetuall stormie Winter, and lost a hundred of their Companie. Alway the storme found them worke, and miserable was their toyle without any furtherance to their intended Voyage. Raine, Winde, Snow, Hayle, Hunger, losses of Anchors, spoyles of Ship and Tackling, Sicknesse, Death, Savages; want of store, and store of wants, conspired a fulnesse of miseries. But specially colde increased their appetite; and this decreased their Provision and made them seeke out for supply. On the seventh of May, they went to take Gudgeons towards the South over against the Greene Bay, and their descryed seven Canoas of wilde men, of ten or eleven foot as they

Thomas Spring Englishman in this Voyage.

Giants.

conjectured in stature with red bodies and long haire, which amazed the Dutch, and terrified them with stones and cryes, and after got into their Boates againe to assaile them, but seeing foure or five fall downe dead with Dutch Thunder, they fledde to Land and plucking up bigge Trees, barricadoed themselves, and threw stones at the Hollanders, which their left them in their sudden erected Fort. But afterwards three of their Companie were slaine, who in seeking food for life, found death at the hand of naked Savages, whose weapons were Saw-toothed Darts, which if they entred, must be cut out of the flesh. This Greene Bay they called the Bay of Cordes, for their long stay. In another Bay called the Horse Bay, they erected a new Guild or Fraternitie, which Societie bound themselves by Oath to certaine Articles, which was done with more solemnitie of Ceremonie then prosperous effect. They styled it the Fraternitie of the freed Lion. The Generall added sixe choice men to himselfe in this Societie and caused their names to bee carved in a Table fastened on high Pillers, to be seene of all Passengers, which was defaced, neverthelesse by the Savages who also plucked out the Corpses from the Graves and dismembred them, and carried one away. On the third of September, they passed out of the straight and continued till the seventh, when Captaine Wert was forced by a storme to stay, and the Faith and Fidelitie were left behind in much Miserie, Tempest, Hunger Leaks, &c. the death of their Master also attending the losse of their Company, & thus in the end of the Moneth entred the straights againe. Straights againe, indeed, for in two Moneths they had not one faire day to dry their Sayles. The Faith lost the foureteenth of October two Anchors. Their troubles left Name of Perillous Bay, to one place of their miserie, and to another, Unfortunate, which yet followed them to everie place not without Divine assistance and deliverance. The Devill added also Mutinie in this miserable Companie, and Theeverie. They tooke a Savage woman with two children one halfe

yeare old, yet able to goe readily and having all the teeth. Their lothsome feeding with the bloud running out of their mouthes, I loath to rehearse. Here they met with Generall Noort, his men lustie, but not able to spare them any reliefe. After a world of straights in the Straights too long to recite, they depart thence the two & twentieth of Januarie 1600. & arrived in the Maes, the fourteenth of July. Without the straights homeward in fiftie degrees and fortie minutes, they saw three Ilands threescore miles from land stored with Penguins, called *Sebaldinæ of the Indies.

**Sebaldinæ 3. Ilands not mentioned in Maps.*

[I. ii. 80.]

Chap. VI.

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, Generall of a Dutch Fleet of sixe Shippes, which passed by the Magellane straits, and South Sea, unto the East Indies, and thence (having encompassed the whole Circumference of the Earth) home: gathered out of the Latine Journall, beeing the fift Circum-Navigation.

IN the eight of August, 1614. they set forth from the Tessell. After much tempestuous weather, on the third of October they attained the height of Madera. On the tenth they lost sight of the Canaries. On the twentie third, they had sight of the Islands Brave and Fogo. From the thirtieth of October, to the seventeenth of November, was a continuall calme, with many showres. And they were forced to stint every man his Water. December the ninth, they gave thankes to the Almightie, because they had passed the dangerous sands of Abrolhos. On the thirteenth, we saw Brasil, and by reason of sholds the Great Sunne shot off, to give warning to the rest not to come very neere the shore. On the twentieth, they came to the Islands Grandes, where they anchored, and went on shore. They tooke much fish, and amongst

Brave and Fogo.

Abrolhos dangerous sands.

them small Crocodiles, of the bignesse of a man. On the thirtieth, whilest they stayed to refresh their sicke men on shore, hearing the Huntsman (one of their ships) to discharge so often, they sent to see, and found that five Barkes of Portugals and Indians had set upon three boats, and slaine the men; whereupon they assailed them, but others came in to their succour, and frustrated the attempt.

Anno 1615. January the first, a conspiracie of certaine mutinous persons was found out, for which two were executed, beeing hanged up at yard arme, shotte through with sixe Muskets, and buried on shore, the Preacher having all the night before laboured to fit them for a more happy life: others were put in irons, and distributed to diverse shippes. Before their departure, they called a Councell, and ordained, that if any ship lost the rest, they should set up a marke in Cordes Haven, or some other usuall landing place, and how long they should stay for each other, and after should hasten to La Mocha. They agreed to remoove thence for want of meet provision for their sicke, to the Isle of S. Vincent. There the Portugals delayed, and dallied with them trifling away time. On the twenty sixth, they tooke a Barke with eighteene Portugals, whom they denied to exchange for fewer Hollanders, although they offered also many fayre Manuscripts, Pictures, Plate, and other things taken in the prize, pertaining to the Jesuites. They found also that intelligence of them had been given by some traitors of their owne Country-men out of Holland. And thus in the beginning of February they departed, freeing foure of their Captive Portugals, detaining the rest, for one of which also, another Portugall had offered himselfe, with divers petty presents, pretending himselfe a Batchelour, and the other his kinsman to have wife and children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and some buildings pertaining to the Portugals, and had well furnished themselves with Oranges and Pome-citrons.

March the seventh, a cruell storme encountred them, in 52. degrees, and sixe minutes, which continued diverse

dayes, and separated them. And on the one and twentieth, a worse storme happened amongst some mutinous persons, and some of them (to still that tempest) were cast into the Sea, by the better part getting the better. It was the eight and twentieth before they entred the strait, whence the winde and tide forced us out. Some by contrariety of windes, desired to winter in Port Desire, others to hold their course to the Cape of Good Hope.

Magelane strait.

Aprill the second, they reentred and anchored, because of sholds, one of which they sounded next day a quarter of a league over, and found but five Cubits water. They saw here a man * of Giantly stature, climbing the hils to take view of them. This was in the land of Fogo, or Fire, which is the South of the strait. On the seventh, they went on shore, found no men, but two Ostriges, and a great River of fresh water, with store of shrubs with sweete blacke berries. On the South-side they found pleasant woods full of Parrots, in fiftie foure degrees, the mountaines full of snow. They called one place Pepperhaven, of the barke of a tree there, biting like Pepper. On the sixteenth, they conferred with the Savages, and gave them Sacke, and certaine Knives, for Pearles joyned together in fashion of hornes. But some of the companie going on May day on shore, to take certaine goodly Birds, were surprized by some of the Savages, and two slaine. On the sixt, they passed into the South sea, not without terror both from the depth in the way the day before, scorning the law of anchorage, and after that the dangerous sholds and Islands, betwixt the Northern and Southern jawes of the not straight Mouth of the Straits, opening into the wide Sea. They were welcomed into this Peaceable Sea, with a terrible storme, which they feared would have split them on the Sorlings (so for likenesse to ours they called the Islands in that sea a little without the straits.) These straits are dangerous for high Ilands, sholds, and want of ancorage. Also tedious stormes attended their ingresse and egresse. On the one and twentieth, they had sight of Chili and La Mocha.

Sholds in the straits.

**A Giant.*

May.

[I. ii. 81.]

This Island is low and broad to the North, full of rockes to the South. On the twentie sixth they sent out boats to traffique with the people; the Governour and his sonne dined with the Admirall, and seemed glad to see such munition against the Spaniards, as likewise did all the Chilesians at sight of their training and mustering their Souldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Corall, and the like, for great plenty of Sheep, of which they had two for one Hatchet, with great curtesie. But they brought all to the Boat, nor would suffer any to goe to their Houses, jealous, it seemes, of their wives. One of these sheep was of legs, and necke very long, hare-mouthed, and bunch-backed, which they use for carriage and culture as asses. They had many Hennes and other Fowles. On the twenty seventh we set sayle, and twentie eighth came neere the shore, hard by the Island of S. Mary, broken and rockie. On the twenty ninth, we came to harbour therein. A Spaniard came aboord them, having a pledge left for him. But inviting them to a dinner on shore, one of the boats espied a convoy of Souldiers, tending to that place where they should dine: wherupon they returned aboord, with the Spaniard prisoner. The next morning they went on shore with three Ensignes. The Spaniards set their Church on fire, and fled. In the skirmish two Hollanders were wounded, and foure Spaniards slaine. Their houses built of Reed, yeelded a goodly flame. They found store of Hennes, tooke five hundred sheepe, with other spoile. Here they understood of three Ships which had departed thence in Aprill to seeke these Dutch Ships, furnished with a thousand Spaniards, the Admirall having fortie Brasse Pieces, the rest proportionable. Hereupon the Dutch determined now to seeke them, in the Isle of Conception, and after that in Valparisa, and then on the shore of Arica. The Spaniard also reported of the like preparation in Lima, having Dutch Gunners. They enacted certaine orders of Militarie discipline, how each Ship, and each person should carry himselfe in the fight, if they encountred the enemie, and to die rather then yeeld.

A.D. 1615. *June.* June the first, they set sayle, and passed not farre from Auroca, a Towne with five hundred Spaniards in Garrison, continually assaulted by the Chilesians. On the third, they approached the Isle Quiriqueynam, neere the Continent, and behind it came up to the Towne of Conception, wherein besides many Indians were two hundred Spaniards. On the twelfth, they entred the safe rode of Valparisa. There was a Spanish ship, on which the Mariners set fire, and fled. On the thirteenth, they had at none thirty two degrees, fifteene minutes, and in the afternoone came to the faire and secure Harbour of Quintero. They went on shore, and sawe many wilde Horses which fled. Here they watered, and tooke many fish, and for wood and other things found the place very commodious. Every where Fame had beene their over-hasty Harbenger, which caused Spanish preparation for an unwelcome intertainment, so that no matter of weight was effected.

Conception Island in 36. degrees, 40. min.

July. July the second, they came to Arricca, in twelve degrees, and fortie minutes. Whether the silver is brought from Potosi, and carried thence to Panama. But finding no ships there, they departed. On the tenth, they had a calme and raine, not without wonder, because the Prisoner had reported a perpetual serenitie or fairenesse of weather in those parts. On the sixteenth, they tooke a small shippe, with some store of Treasure, most of which was embezelled by the Mariners. They tooke out the commodities, and sunke her. They had sight of eight saile, which the Spanish Master of the former Shippe said, was the Fleet-Royall, come forth to seeke the Hollanders, against the minde of the Counsell of Peru, which would rather have had them stay. But Roderigo de Mendoza, the Vice-Royes kinsman and Admirall, conceited of himselfe, sayd that two of his shippes would take all England, how much more those Hennes of Holland, after so long a journey which had spent and wasted them: yea, he was sure they would yeeld to him at the very first. Whereupon the Vice-Roy bid him, Goe and bring them bound unto him, and Mendoza sware he would never returne

till they were taken or slaine. Thus he departed out of the road of Calliou, on the eleventh of July. The Jesu Maria Admirall, had twentie foure brasse Pieces, foure hundred and sixtie men of all sorts, and had cost the King, 158000. Ducats. The Vice-admirall S. Anne, had three hundred men, the Captaine Alvares de Piger, which had taken an English ship in the South sea before; this ship had stood the King in 150000. Ducats, and was the fairest that ever was seene in the Indies. The Carmer had eight brasse Pieces, two hundred Souldiers and Mariners, besides the Commanders and their retinew. To it was the next not next but equall, the S. James. The Rosary had one hundred and fiftie men, and foure brasse Ordnance. The S. Francis had no Ordnance, but seventie Musketiers, and twentie Mariners. Saint Andrew had eightie Musketiers, and twentie five Mariners. The eight was sent after the rest, uncertaine with what furniture.

The Fleet Royall of Peru.

Sir Richard Hawkins, in which fight he was a Captaine but not Generall.

July the seventeenth they came neere each other in the Evening, and the Dutch Admirall sent word to the Spanish, if he pleased to forbeare fight that night. But Roderigo could not be so patient, but about ten of the clocke set upon the great Sunne, in which the Admirall himselfe was, and exchanged mutuall Thunders on both sides. The Saint Francis being next raked thorow by the Sunne, by the Hunter (another Holland ship) was sent into a waterie Mansion and perpetuall Night. She was presently assaulted by the Spanish Admirall, and had soone followed to triumph over the Francis, her new Conquest in the Chanels bottome, had not her Admirall succoured her with a Boate ful of men, and caused the Vice-Admirall to do the like. The Admiralls Boat mistaken was by a Peece from the Huntsman drowned, one man alone escaping. The next morning five ships sent word to the Admirall, that they would do their best to escape: but the Dutch Admirall and Vice-Admirall set upon the Spanish Admirall and Vice-Admirall, and entered a bloudie fight; the Æolus another Holland ship came in also. The two Spanish ships were fastened together and gave greater

A Sea fight by night.

[I. ii, 82.]

advantage. At last they forsooke the Vice-Admirall, and leapt into the Admirall, not finding therein above fiftie persons alive, as by their Confessions after appeared. Meane while they hung out a white flag of Peace, which was divers times plucked in by the Gentlemen, chusing rather to dye then yeeld. The Dutch pressing them, the Vice-Admirals men returned againe and renewed the fight, and the Dutch Vice-Admirall was in great perill, the Spaniards leaping into her out of their Admirall, but repelled or slaine. And the Spanish Admirall not further enduring fled, and by benefit of night escaped the pursuit of the Dutch Admirall: if out of the fire into the water be an escape. For such was the fame that she went to visit the Saint Francis, as also was said of another of them called the Saint Mary. The Vice-Admirall and Æolus bestirred them so with fierie Rhetorikes and yron Disputes, that the Spanish Vice-Admirall past hope of escaping set up a flag of Truce. The Dutch Vice-Admirall sent two Boats to bring the Commander abord. But he refused, saying, he would stay that night except the Vice-Admirall himselfe would fetch him: or send some Captaine to remaine in pledge, and rather desired death then disgrace. One of the Æolus men in this while had taken away their flag, and the Boats departed, ten or twelve staying aboord contrarie to command that they might bee first in the spoile. They did together with the Dutch what they could doe in the night to preserve the ship from sinking, but seeing their labour vaine, they lighted many lights and with horrible clamours for helpe, were of the relentlesse Sea swallowed up in the Hollanders sight. The next morning they sent out foure Boates which found thirtie swimming on the bords, crying for mercie, which to some of the chiefe they shewed leaving the rest to the Seas crueltie, or preventing it by humane inhumanitie, some of the Dutch against command, slaying some Spaniards. The Commander, or Vice-Admirall had perished before of his wounds. Some fortie Dutchmen were wounded and sixteene slaine in those three ships. In the rest eighteene

wounded, and foure and twentie slaine. The same day they went for Caliou de Lima, but the Calme suffered them not. The twentieth they passed by the Iland and saw in the Haven fourteene ships going to and fro neere the shore, but could not come neere for the shold: and therefore went to the Road of Caliou de Lima to seeke for the Spanish Admirall, whom afterwards they learned in Guarme and Peyta to have beene sunke. From the shore the Spaniards shot off their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of thirtie sixe pound, and had almost sunke the Huntsman. They saw also on shore a great Armie in which the Vice-roy himselfe was present with eight Troupes of Horse, and foure thousand foot: they agreed to goe backe out of the reach of their shot and cast anchor at the mouth of the Haven, where they stayed to the five and twentieth with intent to take some of their ships, but in vaine, they being lighter of saile. On the sixe and twentieth they tooke a little Barke laden with Salt, and eightie Vessels of Sirrup, the men all fled. They ordered that if they met with the fleet of Panama, in regard they were in the enemies Countrey, where they could not repayre their losses, & were also bound to the Manillas, that they would not give audacious on-sets, and should take heed of being separated, which had much endangered them in the last fight: and if any hostile ship should yeeld, the Masters & chiefe Officers should not forsake their owne ships, but cause the enemie to come in Boats aboord them, lest confusion, as lately through greedinesse of spoyle, should happen. The seven and twentieth they set sayle: the eight and twentieth, they came to the Roade of Guarme, in ten degrees, beyond the Line, a pleasant place with a large Haven. Neere unto it is a Lake of standing water. They went on shore but found the people all fled who had left little pillage. Some Hennes, Oranges, Hogges and Meale they tooke.

The Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Spaniards both sunke.

August the third they dismissed some of their Spanish Prisoners. They passed betwixt the Ile Loubes (so called of certaine fishes) and the continent. The eight they cast

August.

Anchor neere to Peyta. The ninth they set three hundred men on shore, which after a few skirmishes returned aboord, the Citie being too strongly defended. They tooke an Indian ship of strange sayles, with sixe lustie Indians which had beene two moneths a fishing, and had many delicate fishes dryed which they distributed thorow the Fleet. The tenth the Æolus, Lucifer, and Huntsman battered the Towne with their Ordnance, and sent a greater number of men on shore, which found the Citie forsaken and the people with their goods fled to the Mountaines. They sent five of their Indians on shore to get fruits and to learne more certaintie of the Spanish Admirall, which brought word of her buriall in the waves, only sixe escaping. The Indians also brought the Letters of Captaine Gaspar Caldron to Paula the Commendators Wife of Peyta, who had fled to the Towne of Saint Michael twelve leagues from shore. Shee sent the Hollanders in commiseration of the Captives, many Citrons and Oranges with other provision. This Woman both for Beautie, Wisdome, and Vertue, is of singular reputation in all those parts.

It consisted of many Timbers fastened strangely together, as in the Picture of the Latine Booke is seene.

[I. ii. 83.] *Peyta.*

Peyta to the Sea-ward is strong and impregnable. There were in it two Churches, one Monasterie and many goodly Buildings, an excellent Haven to which all the ships of Panama resorted, and then they passed by Land to Caliou de Lima, because of the perpetuall rage of both Elements, the Windes and Waters in that place. They tooke in the Isle Loubes, two foules of admirable greatnesse, in the beake, wings and talons not unlike the Eagle, necked somewhat like a Sheepe, their heads combed as a Cocke: they were two elles in height, and three in breadth when their wings were displayed.

Relations of the Government of Peru, and of the Citie of Kings, or Lima.

They learned of Pedro de Madriga of Lima, that Peru, Chili, and Terra firma, are commanded by John de Mendoza Marquesse Des Montes Claros, the Vice-Roy: which Office the King conferreth for sixe or eight yeares with yeerely allowance of fortie thousand Duckets, adding further a thousand Pesos for extraordinary expenses in

the Feast of Christmas, Epiphanie, S. Spirito and Easter, each of twelve Rials and halfe, because at those times he is to entertaine all the Counsellers of the Audience: two thousand Pesos also yeerely when hee furnisheth the Silver Fleete. The Vice-Roy is served with great Pompe in his Palace, goeth not forth without his Guard or Pensioners, and if he goeth into the Countrey, hath a hundred Lances, (which have eight hundred Pesos stipend) and fiftie Muskets (which have foure hundred Pesos yeerely) attending. There are foure Courts or Audiences, in Panama, Quito, Charlas, Lima: one also in Chili. In them are the Kings Counsellers, to whom both Civill & Criminall Causes are committed; but with appellation in Civill Cases to the Ojidors, (certaine Commissioners) and in Criminall to the Alcalds. These all goe in one Habit, and are allowed three thousand Pesos annuall Pension.

See M. Ellis Narration hereof in the Tractate proper to America.

The Vice-Roy resideth in the Citie of Kings or Los Reyes, called also Lima, situate in a pleasant Valley, extended a mile and halfe in length, in breadth three quarters, having above a hundred thousand Inhabitants, besides Merchants of other places. It hath foure Market places. There are two thousand Indian Artificers dwelling in the Cercado. Here resides the Archbishop Bartholmew Lobo Guorero, which hath sixtie thousand Pesos of Revenue. The chiefe Temple hath foure and twentie Prebends, one Archdeacon, besides Schoolemasters and other Priests. There are foure principall Pastors, to each of which are assigned fifteene thousand Pesos. Besides this Temple of Saint John Evangelist are foure other, one of Saint Marcellus, with two Pastors and a thousand Pesos revenue: the second of Saint Sebastian, the third of Saint Anne, with like stipend; the fourth is an Hospitall of Orphans, with five hundred Pesos. Monasteries here are of Saint Francis, of Saint Dominicke, and of Saint Augustine, and of our Ladie de las Meriedes, each of which hath two Cloysters of their owne Order, that of Saint Francis three, to wit, one of bare-foot Friers of our Ladie of Guadalupe. They have there two Colledges of Jesuites which

Foure Monasteries.

the Spaniards call Teatines,* both there and in Europe. In each chiefe Monasterie are two hundred and fiftie Religious. There are five Monasteries of Nuns, called of the Incarnation, Conception, Trinitie, Saint Joseph, and Saint Clare. Our Ladie also hath her Temple by the title of Monserrat, & del Prado & de Loretto. They have foure Hospitals for the poore of Saint Andrew, in which are foure hundred sicke, of Saint Anna for the Indians, of Saint Peter for the Ecclesiasticks, of Charitie for women: another of Saint Spirito for Saylers, and one of Saint Lazaro for inveterate diseases. There are sixe hundred Priests, and a thousand students.

Allowance is given to twentie foure in the Kings Colledge by the King, to as many in Saint Torines by the Archbishop. There are further reported to be two hundred Doctors in the Universitie of all faculties. The professors receive of the King a thousand Pesos pension. The two professors of Civill Law, have each sixe hundred Pesos. There are foure hundred Masters of Art. Everie yeare they chuse a new Rector or Chancellor. In this Citie and the Suburbes are above twentie thousand slaves. There are seene more women then men. The Indians* are free as well as the Spaniards, saving that they pay everie sixe moneths, two Pesos, a Henne, a Fenega of eight Royalls, and a piece of cloth of cotten or wollen. They are bound to serve the King * yearely in the Mines or Husbandrie divers dayes, beginning in May, and continuing their times and courses til November. Those of Arrica bring to Potosi, Beasts, Wheat, Meale, Mays, Axicoca, an hearb which they perpetually chew; they use for carriages a certaine Camel-fashioned-sheep. By this Citie the River runneth close to the walls, which by

M. Ellis saith they are Negros.

**This seemes spoken of Citizens.*

**These the Caciques bring in by course, some at one time, and some at another. Ellis.*

Linchoten saith, this publication of the Popes Indulgences is worth to the King of Spaine yeerely 1470058. pounds.

* Jesuites called Teatines: of which name a merry Wit in Spaine, earnestly jested in an Embleme or Picture, in which was painted a Purse full of Money, and one of every Order pictured in his Habit reaching but short, and his Motto according, Yo no te atino, the Jesuite laying fast hold on it, saying, Yo te atino, the words bearing a double sense, I am a Teatine, or, I attayne thee, the Conceit almost lost in the Translation. This was related to mee by a Spaniard.

showers sometimes so swells, that it hath carried away the stone Bridge, of nine Arches. Here is the Kings Contractation house, and his Treasurie; the Court also of Inquisition, with two Inquisitors (each of which hath three thousand Pesos pension) and a prison peculiar. The two Notaries have foure thousand Pesos a piece. Here is the Court, or office of the Crusada, or the Popes Bulls, with officers and like stipends. This Citie is two leagues from the Sea, hath eight bands of foot, and as many of horse in Garrison. The next Port is called Callao, in which are some eight hundred Inhabitants. From the Citie to Potossi are all Spanish merchandise conveyed. Potossi is called La Valla Imperial, comprehending a great mountaine in which are Silver Mines. Into them is an horrible descent of foure hundred steps, nor may the Sunne be admitted spectator of those Acts in perpetuall night, which exercise above twenty thousand Indians in digging, and an hundred more in carrying, grinding, and other their metall workes. [I. ii. 84.] *Ellis hath* 100000.

This place is so cold that nothing growes in foure league space, but an herbe called Ycho. Their provision is all brought from Aricca: a pound of bread is there worth two Ryals. The haven of Aricca is an hundred and eighty Spanish leagues from thence; but many Villages are well inhabited by the way. Not farre hence is Chuquisaca, the Bishop whereof hath 30000. Ducats revenew: there are the like Monasteries to those at Lima, but not so full of Monkes. At Potossi live fifteen hundred shifting Card-players, and nimming companions which live by their wits. Seventie miles from thence is another Silver Mine, called Eruco. Neerer Pima is Chocola Choca an other Mine, cold as Potossi, where dwell five thousand Spaniards. Cusco is like to Lima, hath sixe thousand Spanish inhabitants, a Bishop, and Monkes, and two Colledges, with some sixe hundred Students. Arequipa hath also a Bishop, two thousand Spaniards, and a Corigidoor. But it were tedious to relate the full Story.

Of Chili the Mother-City is S. Iago, where is a Gold *Chili.*

Mine. Coquimbo hath store of brasse. Baldivia is rich in Gold. In the yeare 1599. the Inhabitants or Natives of the Countrey killed the Spanyards, and captured their Wives, eight hundred in number, which they offered to exchange, giving for each, a paire of Shooes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a paire of Stirrops. But the King forbad Armour to be carried to them. They powred molten Gold into the Governours mouth, made a Cup of his skull, and made pipes of his shank-bones, in memory of their victory. Auroca hath neere it a Fort with a Spanish garrison, but very poore. Of Conception is spoken before. It hath fowre hundred souldiers to keepe it, with some Ordnance. But you have listened too long to this Dutch Intelligence from the Spanish Captive. Let us now with our Hollanders to Sea: so did they the one and twentieth of August, but easily perceived the next day, the strength *A Current.* of the Current to be such, that without a faire and stiffe gale, they prevailed nothing. On the twentie third, they anchored before Rio de Tumba, for the barre and tide forbad them entrance. They agreed to turne backe to the Ile Coques in five degrees Southerly, to refresh themselves. But stormes, raines, thunders, so haunted them to the *September.* thirteenth of September, that they could not finde the Island, and manifold diseases easily found them. On the twentieth they had sight of land in Nova Hispania: they had thirteene degrees, and thirty minutes. And the wea- *October.* ther became againe very tempestuous. October the first, after much sea-trouble, they had sight of pleasant land, but the sea wrought so, that they could not have safe landing, and so beat off and on, till the eleventh, that they entred the haven of Aquapolque; within shot of the Castle. And hanging out a flagge of peace two Spaniards came aboord, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Provision, which was accordingly performed. On the fifteenth, Melchior Hernardo came aboord, to take view of the fleete, which had vanquished the Kings. He was Nephew to the Vice-Roy of New Spaine, and was kindly entertained of the Admirall, his

men well appointed in their Armes. The Castle had seventie Brasse Pieces, having intelligence eight moneths before of their comming. On the eighteenth they departed. The Calme kept them from doing any thing of moment, save that they tooke a shippe which was bound for Pearle-fishing, and in her eleven men, two of them Friars, twelve others escaping before by flight. They manned it with two and twenty Dutch to followe the Fleet.

November. November the tenth, they cast anchor before the Port Selagues in nineteene degrees. Understanding by the Prisoners of a River neere this place full of fish, and set with Citrons, and other Fruits, and Meadowes not farre off full of Cattell, they sent out their Boates, which espying shoo-prints, were afraid of Spaniards, and returned. After a hot skirmish, on the eleventh they departed, and came to Port Natividad; where they watered and furnished themselves with other necessaries. On the twentieth they departed. On the twentie sixth, they had twenty degrees and twentie sixe minutes. They determined the next way to the Ladrones. On December the third, not without great marvell, they beheld two Islands farre in the Sea. On the fourth, they saw a Rocke, and had thought it a Shippe which they expected. It was in nineteene degrees, fiftie three leagues from the Continent. In the sixt, they had sight of a newe Island with five hills seeming as so many Islands.

December. *New Islands.* *A dangerous Rocke.*

Jayuary, 1616. Anno 1616. in January many died of diseases. On the three and twentieth the Ladrones appeared. The Land was low, and therefore kept aloofe that night. The next day the Savages came about them with their Boates, and they went on land. On the five and twentieth, Sibrand Cornelison, a Marchant, was taken with a sudden giddinesse at dinner, and presently died: at his buriall the Ordnance and Shot so dismayed the Indians which brought them provision, that they durst come no more. They set sayle the twenty sixth for the Maniles. They perceived these Ladrones to be witty, strong, and to

observe some kind of Idolatrie. There is store of Fowle and fish.

February. On February the ninth, they had sight of Cape Spirito Santo, and the same night anchored at the Maniles. In the tenth they had speech with the Indians, which refused all trade, because (they said) they came to warre with the Spaniard. They did not so in Capul, whither they came on the eleventh, but brought them Hogges and Hennes [I. ii. 85.] with other things for trifles. They stayed till the nineteenth, and then by the helpe of two Indian Pilots, passed the Straights to the Manilian Port or Bay. The fruits much releeved and recovered the sicke. The people weare long garments like shirts, have Friars in such reverence, that to one of our Prisoners they prostrated themselves, and kissed his hands with incredible honour. On the nineteenth, they anchored before the Isle Luzon, the greatest of them in which is the City Manilla. Here they saw an house artificially framed on the tops of divers trees, and seemed farre off as a Palace. Finding no people, they proceeded. On the eight and twentieth, they saw as they passed an exceeding high hill vomiting flames, named Albaca. On the foure and twentieth they had sight of the other strait in the egresse, and sent their Boats to sound the way. The calme kept them prisoners that they could not passe. On the twentie eighth, they anchored before the Isle Mirabelles, whose two Rockes seeme to threaten the skie, behind which is the city Manilla. Here they perpetually watch the comming of Ships, from China, to Pilote them to the City, the way beeing dangerous. Neither could the Hollanders make this strait, to passe through it all the time of their staying with all their labour, hindred by Calmes.

March. On March the first, they saw two sayles, and sent out their Boats to take them, but they were too swift. On the third they tooke one laden with provision of Rice, Oyle, Hens, Fruits, and on the fifth two more, with a Spaniard in them with like provision, and after that three others. These were going to gather in the Tribute, which

the places adjoyning pay to the City Manilla. Here they had intelligence of a Fleet of tenne great Ships, built here, and sent forth under the Command of John de Silves to the Moluccas, to fight with the Hollanders; together with foure Gallies, and two other Ships; in them two thousand Spaniards, besides Chineses, Japanders, and Indians. Their purpose was to reduce all the Moluccas under the Spaniard. Whereupon they freed all their Prisoners, except one Spaniard and an Indian, and hasted after them. On the eleventh, they encountred so many Islands that they doubted of egresse, and by the Spanish Marriners advise, anchored all night: and by his helpe next day recovered the wide Sea. On the foureteenth, they rode at Anchor all night before the Isle Paney by reason of sholds. *Paney.* On the eighteenth, they sayled close by Mendanao, but *Mendanao.* hearing of dangerous shelves, they in the Evening set further off into the Sea. On the nineteenth, they sayled againe close to the shore, and had provision of the Islanders very cheape. On the twentieth, they reached Cape de Cadera, where the Spaniards as they passe to the Moluccas, use to take in water. Till the three and twentieth, the calme permitted no further saile then the tide forced: betwixt Mendanao and Tagimo, a contrary tide stayed them. These Islanders shewed themselves enemies to the Spanyards, and offered fiftie of their ships in aide. On the twenty seventh, they passed the Isle Sanguin, and many others. On the twentie ninth, they came to Ternata, in which is Maleia a Towne subject to the Hollanders, where of their Countrey-men they were gladly entertained. These at Maleia reckoned this the eight and twentieth of March, which we reckoned the nine and twentieth, so that with following the Sunne in his course, they had one day lesse.

The Straight of Bouton is full of sholds: without them is deepe water. On the East is fresh water. To the West two leagues is a rockie shold.

Aprill the eighth, Cornelius de Vianen went for Banda. *Aprill.* The Governour shewed his Charter for the Moluccas,

Banda, and Amboina, without prejudice to the Admiralls authoritie. And the souldiers went on land after so long a Navigation.

May. May the second, they sent sixe ships for Macian, that the enemie should not have any Cloves, and there anchored before Maurice Fort. The English here told them of the taking of Coteway by the Dutch on the tenth of Aprill, rich in Nutmegs. And the Indians mooved with this successe, made a new league with the Hollanders. On the eighteenth, they exchanged Prisoners, Spaniards for Dutch. The rest of this moneth, and June and July following, they spent the time in these parts as occasion was offered, not so necessary to our purpose.

September. September the fifteenth, they came to Iocatra, and repaired there their ships, not without feare of John de Silves with his Spanish Fleete. But on the thirtieth, wee heard of his sudden death at Malacca as was thought by poison, and the returne of the Armada to the Maniles, with great shame to the Spaniard after foure yeares preparation, doing little or nothing. Whiles they were at Iacatra foure ships of huge burthen came out of Holland, with exceeding store of Spanish Ryalls, and an other out of Japon laden with Spanish Ryals, and Silver unwrought, with Brasse, Yron, and other Commodities, the most of which they had taken from a Portugall shippe bound for Marico.

October. October the twentieth, the Concord a shippe of Horne which had departed out of Holland, June, 1615. came to Iacatra (of which you shall have a peculiar Relation) and because it was not of the Companie of the Indies, it was by the Generall annexed to the Fleet, the men beeing distributed into other Ships.

November. November the tenth came the Nassau to Bantam from Mocha in the red Sea, well provided thence of Spanish Ryals, and Turkish Ducats. December the twelfth came thither the Amsterdam, and the Middleborough from the straits of Mallacca, the one of seven hundred, the other of sixe hundred tunnes, in which the Admirall Spilberg

prepared for returne. On the seventeenth of January, 1617. they came to the Isle Mauritius. The thirtieth of March to Saint Helena, where they found the Middleburgh, which they had not seene in three moneths. Hence they departed the seventh of Aprill, and came into Zeland in July following. [I. ii. 86.] *January*, 1617.

A discourse of the present state of the Moluccos, annexed to the former Journall, extracted out of Apollonius Schot of Middleborough.

THe Portugalls having, to the griefe of the Venetians, and their owne inriching, made themselves Masters of almost all the trade of Spicerie, by their possession of the Moluccas: their grew some distasts, first betwixt them and the Spaniards (as in Magellanes voyage is expressed.) After the English, by the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, and since in their East Indian trade have had traffique there. Lastly, the Hollanders have dispossessed the Portugalls: and the Spaniards or Castilians, by meanes of the Tidorians have there fortified. The King of Ternate being taken with some chiefe men, the rest fled, and by Mateliefe his ayd were reduced, and there erected the Fort Orange, and entred league with the Hollanders, and so wrought that Motir, Machian and Bachian yeelded to the Dutch, the Spaniards holding Tidor, and the chiefe Citie of Ternate, and some places in Gilolo, as shall after follow more particularly. *Orange in Ternate.*

In the Isle of Ternate, the Dutch have three Forts, Maleia otherwise Grania, the seat of the King and Nobilitie, taken by Matelief: Molucco, which they call Holland distant from Maleia halfe a mile North-wards, seated on a Hill, and built with lime and stone for the safetie of the Haven of Maleia: Tacome, called also Willemstat, in the North-west Coast of Ternate, commodious for the places betwixt Malacca and Tacome. *Maleia or Grania.* *Molucco or Hollandia.* *Tacome or Willemstat.*

The Isle Motir, was by the warres of Ternate and Tidore for a time desolate, till Admirall Wittert, by *Motir.*

intreatie of the Ternateis erected a Fort in the North part thereof, and brought thither a Colonie of the Inhabitants out of Gilolo, whither they had fled. The Spaniards had thought to have brought those Motirians thither, which had fled to Tidore. The Inhabitants are above two thousand. Admirall Van Caerden tooke Machian, and raised therein three Forts, Tafason to the West, Noffaguja to the North, and Tabelole East-ward, all which places are populous. This Island numbreth about nine thousand. From Cayoe a neighbour Island, for feare they remooved to Tabelole. It is the most fertile of all the Moluccas, and nourisheth with her fruits Ternate and Tidore, which are so addicted to warre, that they neglect culture of their grounds. Bachian is a great Kingdome and fruitfull, but not populous. The Inhabitants are idle and voluptuous, and have brought upon themselves the present miserie. In Lahova the Spaniards had a Fort, and there are yet some seventeene Portugalls, and eightie Families of the Natives become Christians. The Vice-Admirall 1600. tooke and fortified it with a strong Garrison. In the Continent they have Guammequorre, to whom the Sabougians have added themselves, forsaking the Spaniard. In it is a Garrison of thirtie Souldiers. The Natives calling the Dutch to their ayd were franke in promises, as the Dutch also to them, further then either partie doth, or well can performe, being too grievous; as that the Dutch should have all the customes of the Natives and Forreiners, should be free from all paiments: yea they now deny such composition, & are alienated from the Dutch for not keeping word with them. The people are perfidious, ambitious, inconstant, hardned in the insolencies and mischiefes which alwayes attend warres. The Kings in time past had absolute rule, now are contemned, upon occasion the people seeking new patronage. The Spaniards by bountie and liberalitie wonne their hearts, and made them averse to the Hollander. These have the chiefe Citie in Ternate, and call it now Our Lady of the Rosarie, strong, and fortified with all munition from the Moluccas. Heere are two hundred

Machian, with three Forts.

Cayoe.

Bachian.

Lahova.

Guammequorre in Gilolo which is a great Island before which lye the smaller Islands of the Moluccas.

Spaniards in Moluccas.

Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

Spaniards, ninetie Papoos (Inhabitants of the Philippinas) besides thirtie Portugall housholders, eightie Chineses, sixtie Moluccans, with their Families. Betwixt this and Maleia, they have a Fort called Saint Peter and Saint Paul, strongly seated on a Hill, with sixe and twentie Spaniards, twentie Papoos and some Manilians. *S.S. Pedro & Paulo.*

Tidore they have wholly, and therein three Forts, one in the chiefe Citie where the King resides, called Taroula, in which are ordinarily fiftie Spaniards, tenne Papoos, eight Natives, with five brasse Pieces very large. The second hath thirteene Spaniards, besides the Natives, and two Pieces. The third called Marico, within sight of Our Lady Citie, is a Towne well inhabited, walled, and hath a Garrison like the former. The Island scarcely yeelds a thousand armed men. *Tidore.* *Taroula.*

In Gilolo (which comparatively to those Moluccas seemes a Continent, as our Britaine to the Hebrides) the Spaniards have, first Sabongo, which John de Silva tooke from the Dutch, 1611. against the truce (as they say) and fortified strongly, imposing a Garrison of sixtie Spaniards, and fortie Papoos: secondly, Pilolo craftily taken from the Dutch also, and well provided with sixtie Spaniards, and some Manilians. The third, at the West side of Gilolo over against Machian, called Aquilamo, with few Spaniards, and fortie Tidorians. To the Moren or Easterne Coast of Gilolo they have three other Jolo, Isiau and Jaffongo, with them fortie five Spaniards, with the Natives. They have a Gally or two at Sea besides, some Lari (a kind of smaller Gally) and are alwayes well provided of Armes, often destitute of victualls, which causeth divers of them to flie away. Halfe the Cloves belong to the King, and the marchandise of them is in the Portugalls hands. The Kings costs for sixe yeeres were very great, with little profit. Jeronimo de Sylva, is now Commander in those parts, an old warie Souldier, with other officers under him. [I. ii. 87.]

[A briefe

A briefe description of the Forts, Souldiers, and Militarie provision, as also of their Trade and Shipping in the East Indies, under the service of the Generall States of the united Provinces, and his Excellencie, as it was in July 1616. extracted out of the Author of the Journall.

IN the Isle of Ternate, at Maleia are these Captaines; Captaine Fridericke Hamel, William Ertuelt, Peter Barker, Rowland Philips, Goswine a Mammerent, with *Moluccas.* their severall bands, each of ninetie, or a hundred men, the Citie walled and strongly fortified. Tabucke is a Fort neere, kept by the Inhabitants, as Tacome and Tabou, two others in Gilolo. In Tidore is the Fort Marico, under Captaine William ab Amsing, very strong. In Motir, Captaine Henry Majer hath an able Garrison and Fortresse. Macian is governed by Gilbert Vianen, and hath three Forts as before. Bartholmew Spilbergen is chiefe in Bacian, where is the Fort Barne-velt built of stone, and well furnished with armes and men.

Amboina. In Amboina is a royall Fort or Castle, commanded by Henry Steur, with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers: besides other Fortresses, as Conbellam, Hitton, and Low; This last is kept by the Ternatois. Adrian Blockhousen *Banda.* is Governour of the Island. In Banda are two Forts, Nassau, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Hollanders besides a very great number of Japanders, Chineses and others; and the Belgike, furnished as well. Captaine *Poleway.* Henry Beverlincke commands both. In the Island Poleway, they have the Revenge, with an hundred sixtie Souldiers under two Captaines, Dussen, and Verhoeren.

Palataque. In the Coast of Coromandel, in Palataque, is a strong and goodly Castle, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Souldiers: the Cities Negapatan, and Messepatan, shew them great favour. John de Hase a Counsellor of the *Java.* Indies, is Commander in these parts. In Java the greater, at Jacatra a dayes journey from Bantam, is built a Magnifi-

cent store-house or Arsenale, for Artificers, and provision for the warre, and for the Navie, furnished therefore with brasse Ordnance. In all these are Souldiers three thousand; Brasse Peeces, an hundred ninetie three, of Iron Ordnance three hundred and twentie, of Stone three hundred.

Forts given over.

Places forsaken upon better consideration, are Gemmalanor, a Fort in the Isle of Boutton; another in Salor and Timor; a Magazine, or Store-house in Gresei and Achin, and Macassar in Selibes. The King of Jor is their great friend, but admits no Fort.

Places of trade and factories.

They have their most profitable trade at Jambi, in one of the Islands of Sumatra, at the straight of Malacca. In Fieos, Priaman, and Silbe, on the West of Sumatra they have trading. In Borneo they trade for Diamants, and Bezoar stones. In Japon, James Spex hath erected a great store-house. At Bantam is their chiefe Factorie, where all Shippes are laden under the command of Sir John Peters Coenen Generall president of the Indies, which heere keepes an exact register and accounts of all the Indian affaires.

Their shipping in July, 1616. was as followeth; In the Moluccas, The Old Sun, the Old Moone, the New Sun, the New Moone, the Flushing, the Angel of Delph, the Hope, the Lucifer, and the Larus. In Japatra, the Holland. At Bantam, the Faith, the Nassau, the Horne, the Larus of Japon, the Blacke Lion. In Timor and Solor, the Eagle, and the Starre. In Achin, the Falcon and the Huntsman. In Coromandel, the Neptune, the Golden Lion. At Jambi, the Bargen Boat, the Halfe Moone. The Concord, and Little Holland, were sent to the Isle Ingane, to receive those which had beene shipwracked in the Æolus. At Jacatra, the Enchusen. At Bantam were also the New Horne, the Amsterdam, the Middleborough. The Tergoes expected from Coromandel. The Blacke Beare lately departed, and the Amsterdam, and the New Zeland. Then at Sea towards the Indies, the Concord of Amsterdam, and the Æolus of Zeland. They have moreover in Banda two small Gallies, and in Jacatra, and Bantam many smaller Sayle. [Chap. VII.

[I. ii. 88.]

Chap. VII.

The Sixth Circum-Navigation, by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne: Who South-wards from the Straights of Magelan in Terra-Delfuogo, found and discovered a new passage through the great South-Sea, and that way sayled round about the World: Describing what Islands, Countries, People, and strange Adventures hee found in his said Passage.

BEcause the Generall States of the united Nether-land Provinces, had granted Pattents of trade to the East Indian Company, with prohibition to all others to passe the Cape of Good Hope East-ward, or thorough the Magelen straights West-ward: Isaak le Maier a Marchant of Amsterdam, and William Cornelison Schouten of Horne (a man which had beene thrice in the East Indies) devised and consulted of some new way, without impeachment of the said Pattents, which they confidently supposed might bee done by some passage South-wards from the Magelan straights. And to that end agreed, betweene them to enterprise such a Voyage, taking order that Isaac le Maire should provide the one halfe of the money, and William Cornelison Schouten the other halfe to furnish the said Voyage, by the helpe and furtherance of their friends, the care thereof, and to make provision for the said Voyage, being referred to William Cornelison Schouten.

And to finish the said Voyage, the Marchants aforesaid prepared and rigged a great and a small Ship of Horne, the great Ship called the Unitie, of three hundred sixtie Tunnes, whereof William Cornelison Schouten was Master and chiefe Pilot, and Jacob le Maire Marchant and principall Factor, in it having sixtie five men, and nineteene

great Pieces, and twelve Slings, with Muskets and other munition for warre proportionably, with a Pinasse to sayle, another to row, a Boat, and a Scute, Anckors, Cabels, Ropes, Sayles, and all other necessaries belonging thereunto. The lesser Ship called the Horne, of an hundred and tenne Tunnes, whereof John Cornelison Schouten was Master, and Aris Clawson Marchant, in it twentie two men, eight great Pieces, foure Slings, and other furniture, as need required, and was necessarie for such a Voyage. And for that they would not make knowne to any man, as I said before whether they meant to goe, they hyred all their men, both common Saylers and Officers, to sayle unto every place whether the Masters and the Marchants would go, which made the common Saylers and people to speake and ghesse of that Voyage diversly, and at the last gave them the name of the Gold-Finders, but the Marchants named them the South Company. The Ships being readie, upon the sixteenth of May 1615. the men were mustred by the Scout and Schepen of Horne, and the twentie five of the same moneth the Unitie set sayle, and arrived at the Tessell upon the twentie seven.

The third of June the lesser departed from Horne, and the next day came to the Tessell. *Ann.* 1615.

Upon the fourteenth of June 1615. we sayled out of the Tessell, and the sixteenth of the same moneth, being in the sight of Dunkerke, past betweene Dover and Callis: the seventeenth ankoring in the Downs, William Cornelison Schouten went on shoare at Dover, to get men to bring us Fresh-water, and the same day set sayle from thence.

The fourth of July, it was ordered that every man should have a Can of Beere a day, foure pound of Bisket, and halfe a pound of Butter (besides sweet Suet) a weeke, and five Cheeses for the whole Voyage.

The thirteenth in the morning wee saw the Ilands of Tenerifa, and great Canaria, and the same day about noone we sayled betweene them both, with a stiffe North North-east wind, and a swift streame.

Betweene the fourteenth and the fifteenth, with the same wind and streame we passed Tropicus Cancri.

The twentieth on the morning, we fell on the North side of Cape Verde, and had eight fathome deepe when we first saw the Land, sayling along by the Coast, and at Sunne-rising the Cape lay West and by South from us, so that with a North North-east wind wee could not get beyond it, and were forced to Ankor at thirtie two fathome deepe: that night it blew hard, with a great storme of raine and thunder. We had ill weather divers dayes.

The five and twentieth the Alkaide, or governour came aboord our ship, with whom wee agreed for eight States of Iron; that we should peaceably fetch Fresh-water from the shoare. The first of August wee set sayle from the Cape.

Sierra Liona. The one and twentieth of August in the morning, by Sunne rising we set sayle, and saw the high Land of Sierra Liona, about sixe Leagues from us North-east and by North: wee likewise saw the Islands of Madrabomba, which lye on the South Point, or corner of the high land of Sierra Liona, North from the Baixos, or shallows of [I. ii. 89.] Saint Annas Island. Sierra Liona is a very high land, there is no land so high as it, betweene Capo Verde, and the Coast of Guinea, whereby the point is most easie to be knowne: that day we laboured as wee could to get to land, for the most part having stormie weather, running to the point, and over the Baixos, or shallowes of Saint Anna, at tenne, nine, eight, seven and five fathome water, and as wee sayled North-ward, the water waxed deeper, but East-ward shallower, so that about evening wee anchored with a high water, at foure fathome and ahalfe soft ground, and in the night time wee had but three fathome and a halfe, but it was fine cleare weather.

The two and twentieth in the morning at Sun-rising, William Schouten went aboord the Horne, and sayled in it before us, the great ship following, holding our course North North-east, with a North-west wind, and an ebbe

under the bough, and so got off from the Baixos, to eighteene fathome water, and from thence to the Islands of Mabrabomba, which are very high, and lye all three on a row, South-west and North-east, halfe a league from Sierra Liona to sea-ward, there wee had shallow water, at five and foure fathome, soft muddie ground, we anchored about a league from the land, and going on shoare found no man dwelling therein, but perceived the footsteps of many great beasts, but all the land lay wast like a wildernesse, with low marshes or bogges, and high hils.

Baixos, or shallowes of Saint Anna Mabrabomba.

The three and twentieth in the morning, Jacob le Maire went aboord the Horne, and from it with both the boates on shoare, where hee found a River, at the mouth thereof having many Cliffes, Sands, and Rockes, whereby no Shippe could goe into it, but within it was very deepe and broad enough for ships to turne and wind, there they could perceive no people to dwell, but saw three wild Oxen, and a great many Monkies, and some Birds that barked like Dogs. They rowed at least three leagues up into it with the floud. After long search they found eight or nine Limon trees, which they shook, and got about seven hundred and fifty Limons, most ripe, ready to dry. There also they saw great store of Tortoyses & some Crocodiles, but no people. We determined to trie if we could get into the fresh river with both our ships, therein to make provision of fresh water and Limonds, and to that end set sayle, but found the water so shallow, that we were forced to anchor at sixe fathome. The Horne anchored before the river, on the lower land, but there found shallow water. They found up the river no signes of men, onely a Buffe and a Calfe, and here and there got some Limons.

The nine and twentieth, perceiving that we were not in the river of Sierra Liona, wee determined early in the morning to set sayle, and to goe North-ward of the high land, and about noone wee got above the Islands of Mabrabomba, West-ward, along towards the North part

of the high land, till wee had twelve and fifteene fathome water, and in the evening got about the point, where we anchored at fifteene fathome deepe.

The thirtie in the morning, wee hoysed Anchor, and drave with the streame, and a South wind before the Village, in the right roade of Sierra Liona,* where we anchored at eight fathome, sandie ground, about a Musket shot from the land, there wee saw eight or nine houses covered with Straw. The Moores called unto us in their language, to fetch them aboord our ship, and because they had no Canoes wee sent our boat on land, which presently came backe againe with five Moores in it, whereof one was their Interpreter: but before they came, they desired that we would leave some of our men, to stay with them as pledges, for that not long before there had beene a French ship there, which had taken and carryed away two of their Moores. Aris Clawson the Marchant, that went a shoare with the boat, stayed there with them, and having certaine Beades, he there bartered them for Limons, and Bananas. The Interpreter spake all kind of languages, one with another. In the meane time, our men having faire weather, laded fresh water, which is there easie to bee had, by reason it fals downe out of the hill into the road, so that wee held the Barrels under the shoare, or fall of the water, and filling them, put them straight into the Scute, the water was very good. For a few Beades, and some slight Norremburgh Knives, wee might have had an hundred thousand Limons there at the least, if we would, for there they grew by whole *Woods full: the same night we bartered with the Negroes for a shoale of Fish.

*The road of Sierra Liona.

*Store of Limons.

The first of September we hoysed Anchor, and drave before the streame, and that Evening anchored at the mouth of the Sea, before a Small River. The second, we set the Horne upon the Strand to make her cleane, having a good place to doe it, for there the water fals seven foote up and downe: in the evening our men came on boord againe, and brought a little beast named an Antelop, which they found in a Wood, in a net or snare set there by the

Negroes, and some Limons, and after that the Boat went out to fish, and got a great number, and some Palmitas which they had not cut downe in the wood.

The third in the afternoone, the Horne being made cleane was lancht into the water againe, and our Master went out to fish, in the evening bringing a great shole of fish with him in fashion like to a Shoomakers cutting knife, and every man an hundred and fiftie Limons for his part.

The fourth early in the morning we hoysed anchor, and set sayle out of Sierra Liona.

The fift of October, we were under foure degrees, seven and twentie minutes, the same day about noone, there was such a noyse in the Bough of our Shippe, that the Master being behind in the Gallerie, thought that one of [I. ii. 90.] the men had fallen out of the Fore-ship, or from the Boe-sprit into the Sea, but as hee looked out over the side of the Ship, hee saw the Sea all red, as if great store of bloud had beene powred into it, whereat hee wondred, knowing not what it meant, but afterward hee found, that a great Fish, or a Sea monster having a horne, had therewith stricken *against the Ship, with most great strength. For when wee were in Porto Desire, where we set the Ship on the Strand to make it cleane, about seven foot under water before in the Ship, wee found a Horne sticking in the Ship, much like for thicknesse and fashion to a common Elephants tooth, not hollow, but full, very strong hard Bone, which had entred into three Plankes of the Ship, that is two thicke Plankes of greene, and one of Oken wood, and so into a Rib, where it turned upward, to our great good fortune: for if it had entred betweene the Ribbes into the Ship, it would happily have made a greater hole, and have brought both Ship and men in danger to be lost, it stucke at least halfe a foote deepe into the Ship, and about halfe a foote without, where with great force it was broken off, by reason whereof the great monster bled so much.

*Strange accident of a Fish striking against the Ship.

The five and twentieth, the wind continuing, we held on the same course. Untill that time we had sayled, and

no man in our Ship, (unlesse it were the Master, William Cornelison Schouten, and Jacob le Maire our Marchant) knew whether we should goe, and then they told us what voyage they intended, which was, to seeke by another way then the straights of Magelan, to enter into the South Sea, there to discover new countries in the South parts, where they thought to find great riches, and that if it fell not as they desired and pretended, then that they would saile along through the great South Sea, South-ward to the East Indies. This being knowne, our men were very glad and rejoyced, hoping every man for his part, to benefit by that voyage, to their advancement.

The sixe and twentieth, we were under sixe degrees, five and twentieth Minutes, with faire weather, and a good gale, and all the rest of that moneth for the most part sayling South-ward, with an East, and a North-East wind, we were under tenne degrees, and thirtie minutes.

The first of November we past the Sunne, whereby at noone time, it was North from us.

The third we were under nineteene degrees, twentie minutes, then we saw some Black-birds, and two or three fowles called Sea-mewes, and after noone, wee had a sight of Martin vads Islands called Ascension, which lay South-East, and by East from us, under twentie degrees, there wee found our Compasse to varie North-East-ward twelve degrees: The wind being North North-East, as the day before, and held our course South: That day our men had double allowance of Wine, because we had past the dangerous Sands, called Abrolhos.

Abrolhos sands.

The one and twentieth, wee were under eight and thirtie degrees, five and twentie minutes, and had alteration of water, there wee cast our Lead, but found no ground, the Compasse then varied seventeene degrees North-East-ward, that morning wee saw the new Moone, being one and twentie howers old.

The sixt of December, we saw Land not very high, but white and somewhat flat, we fell (according to our desire) on the North side of Porto Desire, and at night

anchored at tenne fathom deepe, about a league and a halfe from the shoare, with an ebbe that ran South-ward, as strongly as the Sea runnes betweene Flushing heads.

The seventh in the morning wee hoysed Anchor, and sayled South untill noone, then wee were before the Haven of Porto Desire, lying under seven and fortie degrees, fortie minutes, and made towards the entrie thereof, where we had very high water, so that the Cliffes (whereof Oliver van Noort writeth, which sailing into that Haven must be left North-ward from us) were cleane under water, but on the South point there lay certaine Cliffes open, which we tooke to be those, and therefore went South-ward on, but sayled South-ward of the right channell into a crooked Bay, and there at high water anchored at foure fathom and a halfe, and when the water was low, we had but foureteene foot-water, whereby the Unitie lay with her Sterne fast on ground, it being full of Cliffes, the wind was West from the Land, and smooth water to our great fortune, for if we had had an East wind, with any gale, for certaine, we had lost our Ship: upon the Cliffes we found many Egges, and tooke great Muscles and other Fish, and among the rest, Smelts of sixteene inches long, and for that cause we called that place the Smelt Bay. Our Shallop went to the Penguins Island, lying East South-East two leagues from Porto Desire, and came aboord againe late in the evening, bringing two Sea Lyons, and an hundred and fiftie Penguins, which we eate the next day. *Port Desire.* *Penguins.* *Seales.*

The eight in the morning, with the Land-wind we sayled out of the Smelt Bay, and anchored right before the Haven of Porto Desire, and sent our Shallop out to sound the depth of the channell, and found twelve and thirteene fathom, entering in after noone, with a high water, and a North-East wind, we set sayle, the Horne first, and so entred into the Haven. When wee had sayled about a league and a halfe into the river, the wind turned, and we anchored at twentie fathoms: there the ground was slippery stones, for about halfe an houre after, the *Smelt Bay.*

winde blowing hard North-West, both our Ships lying with two Anchors a Peece out: presently drave upon the South shoare, for there five and twentie anchors could not have holden them, so that wee verily thought both our Ships would there bee cast away. The great Ship sate with her [I. ii. 91.] side upon the Cliffes, and shoke with the falling water somewhat lower, and still kept stanch, but the Horne fell upon the Cliffes, so that the water went cleane from it, whereby at a low water a man might have gone dry foote under the Keele, right against the maine Mast: the Keele was above a fathome out of water, fearefull to behold, but as the winde blewe hard Northwest it kept it from falling over, which appeared to be so, for that when the winde ceased, it fell from the land against the winde upon the side, at least three foote lower then the Keele, whereat we were all abasht, thinking we had surely lost her, but when the Flood came with still weather, it rose up againe, whereat we all rejoyced. In the morning with calme weather we wound off from the wall, and the same night the Horne came to us.

Kings Island almost covered with eggs.

The ninth in the morning, we set saile againe, and went further into the River, and came to Kings Island, so called by Oliver van Noort, the Horne went behind it, and there anchored, but we could not get in with the Unitie, because the wind was contrary. Our men went on shore into the Island, which was almost covered over with egges; for a man standing still on his feete, with his hands might reach to fiftie foure neasts, each having three or foure egges a piece, much like (but somewhat greater) then Sea-Mues egges, the birds were blackish Sea-Mues, we carried thousands of them aboord, and eate them.

The eleventh, the boat went lower into the River on the South side, to seeke for men and water, and found *Estriges.* nothing but brackish water: there they saw some Estriges, and beasts like Harts, with very long neckes, which were afraid of us. Upon the highest part of the hilles wee found some burying places, which were heapes of stones, and we not knowing what that meant, pulled the stones

off from one of them, and under them found mens bones of tenne and eleven foot long: they buried the dead upon the top of the hils, flat on the ground, and cover them also with stones, which keepes them from beeing devoured by beasts or birds. *Gyants: see the Voyage of Magellan.*

The twelfth, thirteenth, foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, our men went continually on land to seeke for water, but found none, every day bringing good store of birds and fishes on boord.

The seventeenth, we laid our shippe within Kings Island on the wall, with an high water, to make it cleane, where it was drie, that we might goe round about it dry foot.

The eighteenth, the Horne was also laid on shore about two Musket shot from our Shippe to make it cleane. The nineteenth, as we were busie about both the ships to make them cleane, and burnt reeds under the Horne, the flame of the fire sodainly got into the Ship, and presently tooke such hold thereof, that in the twinckling of an eye it was so great, that we could by no meanes quench it, by reason it lay fiftie foote drie from the water side, and by that meanes wee were constrained to stand still, and see it burne before our eyes, not able to doe any thing to save it.

The twentieth, at a high water we lancht the Unitie into the water againe, and went to the Horne and quencht the fire, but the ship was burnt cleane downe to the water. The next day when we had cast the water out of that part of it that was left, we saved all the wood, Iron-worke, Anchors, Ordnance, and what else that was to be gotten, and put it into our shippe.

The twenty fifth our men found certaine holes full of fresh water, which was white and very thicke, from whence some of them daily fetch water in little rondlets on their shoulders: some went armed with Muskets to defend them, others fetcht birds, and egges, and yong sea Lyons which we eate, and are of a reasonable good tast. *Seales.*

The thirteenth about noone, we sailed out of Porto Desire, but the sea beeing calme, wee anchored before

the haven, and when the winde began to rise, hoysed anchor and put to Sea.

Sebalds Islands. The eighteenth we saw Sebaldes Islands South-east from us about three leagues, they lie, as Sebald Dewert writes, distant from the Strait, East Northeast, and West Southwest, about fiftie leagues, then we were under fiftie one degrees.

The twentieth, we saw Steencrosse drive, and perceived that we had a great streame that went Southwest, then we were under fiftie three degrees, and ghest that we were about twentie leagues Southward from the Straits of Magelan. The eleventh we were under three and fiftie degrees.

The three and twentieth in the morning, we had a South winde, and about noone it waxt calme, then the wind blew West, and we had ground at fiftie fathome blacke sandy, with small stones, after that the winde turned North, with smooth water and faire weather. The water shewed as white, as if we had beene within the land, we held our course South and by West, about three of the clocke afternoone we saw land West, and West Southwest from us, and not long after that we saw it also in the South, then having a North winde, we went East Southeast, to get above the land, it blew so hard in the hollow water, that we were forced to take in our Toppesayles.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee sawe land on starre-boord, not above a great league distant from us, there wee had ground at fortie fathome, and a West-winde, the land stretcht East and South, with very high hills, that were all covered over with Ice. We sayled along by that land, and about noone past it, and saw other land East from it, which also was very high and ragged.

[I. ii. 92.] These lands as we ghest lay about eight leagues one from the other, and seemed as if there were a good passage betweene them, which we were the better perswaded unto, for that there ranne a hard streame Southward betweene both those lands.

Then about noone we were under fiftie foure degrees and fortie sixe minutes, and after noone wee had a North wind, and made towards this opening, but about evening it calmed, and that night wee drave forwards with a hard streame, and little wind. There we saw an innumerable number of Pengwins, and thousands of Whales, so that we were forced to looke well about us, and to winde and turne to shunne the Whales, least we should sayle upon them.

Store of Whales.

The five and twentieth in the morning, we were close by the East land, which was very high and craggie, which on the North side reacheth East South-east, as farre as we could see, that land we called Statesland, but the land that lay West from us, we named Maurice-land. We perceived that on both sides thereof, there were good roades, and sandy Bayes, for on either side it had sandy strands, and very faire sandie ground. There are great store of fish, Pengwins and Porposses, as also birdes and water enough, but we could see no Trees: we had a North-wind in the entrie, and went South South-west, with a stiffe course, at noone we were under fiftie five degrees, thirty sixe minutes, and then held our course South-west, with a good sharpe wind and raine, and a stiffe gale: we saw the land on the South side of the passage upon the West ende of Maurice van Nassawes land, reach West South-west and South-west, as farre as we could see it, all very high and craggie-land. In the Evening the wind was South-west, and that night wee went South with great waves or billowes out of the South-west, and very blew water, whereby we judged and held for certaine that we had great deepe water to loefward from us, nothing doubting but that it was the great South-sea, whereat we were exceeding glad, to thinke that we had discovered a way, which untill that time was unknowne to men, as afterward we found it to be true.

Statesland and Maurice-land.

The New straits called Straits of Maire.

There we saw extreame great Sea-mewes, bigger of body then Swannes, their wings beeing spread abroad, each of them above a fathome long. These birds being

Great fowles very tame. unaccustomed to see men, came to our ship, and sat thereon, and let our men take and kill them.

The sixe and twentieth, we were under seven and fiftie degrees, with a flying storme out of the West and Southwest, the whole quarter, with very high and blew water, we held our course South-ward, and in the North-west saw very high land, in the night we turned North-Westward.

The seven and twentieth, we were under sixe and fiftie degrees, and one and fiftie minutes, the weather very cold, with haile, and raine, the wind West and West and by South, and we went South-ward, and then crost Northward with our maine Sailes.

The eight and twentieth we hoysed our top-sayles, then we had great billowes out of the West, with a West wind and then a North-east, and therewith held our course South, and then West and West and by South, and were under fiftie sixe degrees and fortie eight minutes.

The nine and twentieth, we had a Northeast wind, and held our course South-west, and saw two Islands before us, lying West Southwest from us: about noone we got to them, but could not saile above them, so that we held our course North: about them they had dry gray Cliffes, and some low Cliffes about them, they lay under fiftie seven degrees, South-ward of the Equinoctiall line, we *Barnevels Ilands.* named them Barnevels Islands. From them we sayled West North-west: about Evening we saw land againe, lying North West and North North-west from us, which was the land that lay South from the straits of Magellan which reacheth South-ward, all high hilly land, covered over with snow, ending with a sharpe point, which we *Cape Horne.* called Cape Horne, it lieth under fiftie seven degrees and fortie eight minutes.

Then wee had faire weather, and a North wind, with great Billowes out of the West, we held on course West, and found a strong streame that ranne West-ward.

The thirtieth, we still had great Billowes out of the West, with hollow water and a strong streame that went

West-ward, which assured us that we had an open way into the South sea, then we were under fiftie seven degrees, thirty foure minutes.

The one and thirtieth, wee had a North wind, and sayled West, and were under fiftie eight degrees: then the wind turning West, and West South-west, somewhat variable, wee passed by Cape Van Horne, and could see no more land, and had great billowes out of the West, and verie blew water, which then fully assured us that we had the broad South sea before us, and no land: the wind was very variable, with great store of haile and raine, which forced us oftentimes to winde to and fro.

The first of February, we had cold weather, with a storme out of the South-west, and sayled with our maine sayles, lying North-west, and West North-west. The second, the wind West, we sayled South-ward, and were under fiftie seven degrees, fiftie eight minutes, and found twelve degrees North-ward variation of the Compasse. That day we saw many great Sea-mewes and other Birds.

The third, we were under fiftie nine degrees twentie five minutes, with indifferent weather, and a hard West wind, and guessed that wee were that day under fiftie nine degrees and a halfe, but saw no land, nor any signe thereof [I. ii. 93.] in the South. The fourth, we were under fiftie sixe degrees fortie three minutes, with variable windes, most Southwest, and wound to and fro as the wind blew, with eleven degrees Northeastward variation of Compasse.

The fift wee had a strong streame out of the West, with hollow water, whereby we could beare no sayle, but were forced to drive with the winde.

The twelfth, our men had each of them three cups of wine in signe of joy for our good hap, for then the Straits of Magellan lay East from us: the same day by advice of all our Counsell, at the request of our chiefe Marchant, the new passage (by us discovered betweene Mauritius land, and the Statesland,) was named the Straights of le Maire, although by good right it should rather have beene called William Schoutens Straight, after our Masters

Name, by whose wise conduction and skill in sayling, the same was found.

During the time that we passed through that New Strait, and sayling Southward about that New-found land, till we got to the West side of the Straits of Magellan, for the most part we had a very strong streame, hollow water, continuall raine, mists, moist and thicke weather, with much haile and snow: whereby wee endured much trouble, miserie and disease. But in regard that we had so luckily discovered that Passage, and hoping that the places which we were yet to discover, would likewise fall out well, we were encouraged; and not once thinking upon our former hard passage, with assured mindes determined to goe forward on our Voyage.

The foure and twentieth, we hoysed our upper Ordnance out of the hold, and placed it above upon our Decke. The five and twentieth of January, we hoysed all our sayles, because we entered into a peaceable Sea, and had past all stormes and hard weather.

The seven and twentieth, we hoysed up our second tyre of Ordnance, and placed it in our second Orlope, for in Porto Desire we had laid it downe in the hold, and all things that might hinder the wind, and then were under fortie degrees with faire weather, a South, and South Southeast wind, and a good gale, as the day before, and held our course Northward.

The eight and twentieth, our Counsell, and the foure Masters determined to sayle to the Isles of John Fernando, there to refresh us, because some of our men by meanes of the great paines and labour taken by them were extreame weary, and some had the fluxe: that day we were under thirtie five degrees, fiftie three minutes. In the evening we bare but small sayle, fearing to fall upon the land by night, and because we would not passe beyond it in the night, wee sayled Northeast.

Islands of John Fernando. The first of March in the morning wee saw the Islands of John Fernando, right before us, North North-east, with a South wind, faire weather, and a good gale. About

noone wee got to them, under thirtie three degrees and fortie eight minutes.

These are two Islands, both of them very high land: the smallest lying most West-ward, is a very dry bare Island with nothing in it, but bare Hils and Cliffes, the greatest (lying East-ward) is also full of very high Hils, but hath many Trees, and very fruitfull. Therein are many Beasts, as Hogs, and Goates, upon the Coast admirable numbers of good fish; which makes the Spaniards oftentimes come thither to fish, and in short time fill their ships and carrie them to Peru. Wee went on the West side of those Islands, which was not well for us, for there wee must have gone about East-ward to get into the Road, which lyeth on the East point of the greatest Island, for going about on the West side behind the land, wee should have gotten under the land in the calme water, because the land there is high and calme, so that wee could not get to the land to anchor with our ship, and therefore sent our Boat out to sound the depth, which came aboord againe in the Evening, and told us, that close by the land we had fortie and thirtie fathome sandy ground which still lesseneth till it come to three fathome good to anchor in, besides a faire greene Valley, full of greene Trees, pleasant to behold, but because of the shortnesse of the time they went not on shore, and in divers places saw fresh water in great streames run downe off the Hils, they likewise saw many Goats and other Beasts, upon the Hils, which they could not well know, being so farre off: they had also in short time taken a great number of good fish, for the Hooke was no sooner in the water, but presently they tooke fish, so that continually without ceasing, they did nothing but draw up fish, most of them being Corcobados, and Steen-brasses, and saw many Sea-Wolves: these newes cheared up our men, specially those that were troubled with loosenesse hoping there to refresh themselves: that night it was calme weather, so that the streame drave us somewhat back-ward.

The second day we were with our ship close under the

land againe, but could not get so neere (what meanes soever wee used) to finde ground, wee once againe sent our men on land, some to fish, and some to seeke for Cattell, they saw many Hogs, Goats, and other Beasts, but by reason that the Woods were thicke they could not get them: and the while that some of them fetch water, they that were in the Boat had taken almost two Tunnes of fish, all with Hookes, and so we were forced to leave that faire Island, and could get nothing else there.

The third day wee drave at least foure leagues beneath the Islands, notwithstanding that all that quarter we did the best we could to sayle neere to it, whereof at last being wearie, (seeing it was unpossible to bee done) wee determined to leave them, and to hold on our course, to performe our Voyage, every day having a good fore-wind, to the great griefe of our sicke men, who thereby were cleane out of comfort, but God holpe them. [I. ii. 94.]

These Islands are under thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes: this resolution taken, we set our course North-west and by West, with a good South gale of wind and faire weather.

The eleventh day wee past Tropicus Capricorni the second time, with a South-east wind, our course North-west, there we had the generall East and East South-east wind, and held our course North North-west to the fifteenth, till we were under eighteene degrees, then we changed our course, and went West, and made our rowing Shallop readie, to use it when we came neere any land.

The third of April being Easter day, we were under fifteene degrees twelve minutes, at which time we had no variation of Compasse, for the Needle stood right North and South, then the flux began much to trouble our men, for at times, halfe of them at the least had it.

Dogs Island in 15. degrees 12. minutes, 925. leagues from Peru.

The tenth day we saw three leagues from us a low Iland, not very great, with great numbers of Sea-mewes and fish, and set our course to the Island thinking to have some refreshing, whereof in regard of the flux we had great need, About noone we got to the Island, and cast

out our Lead, but found no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop. About Evening they came aboord againe, and could get nothing, but onely some greene Herbs, which tasted like unto Holland Tuinkars, they said, that there they had seene three Dogs, that neither barkt, nor made any noyse, and in it found some places full of raine water, that had fallen that day.

The Island as we perceived, seemed at high water for the most part to be over-flowne, it had nothing about it but a kind of wall like a Ditch, full of greene Trees, pleasant to behold, and in the middle of them and elsewhere, much Salt-water. It is under fifteene degrees twelve minutes, distant from the Coast of Peru, by our estimation nine hundred twentie and five leagues. That quarter the wind was North, and we held our course West, towards the Islands of Salomon, and called that Island Dogs Island.

In the night it blew hard, with a great showre of raine.

The fourteenth the winde East and East South-east, we sayled West, and West and by North, with wind and weather aforesaid, and saw much fish, and many Birds: after noone we saw another low Island North-west from us being very great, and reached North-east and South-west, whereat we rejoyced, hoping to get water and some refreshing there, and made to it, holding our course North-west. *Another Iland.*

About Evening, being with our ship about a league from the Land, there came a Canoe to meet us, with foure Indians in it, all naked, of a reddish colour, very blacke long haire: they kept a good way from our ship, first calling to us, making signes to have us come on Land, but we understood them not, nor they us, notwithstanding that we answered and called to them in Spanish, Molucus, Javan, and our owne Netherland speech.

About Evening at Sunne-setting, we got to the land, but found no ground, nor no changing of water, although we were so neere to the shore, that with a Musket we might shoot into it, and therefore put to Sea againe, and

the Canoe to land, where a great many Indians stood upon the shore to watch for them: not long after againe there came another Canoe from the land to our ship, but would not (as the first) come aboord, they called to us, and we to them, but understood not one the other, at last their Canoe overthrew in the water, but they soone turned it up againe, and leapt quickly into it, they shewed and pointed towards the land, and wee the like to them towards the ship, but they would not come, wherwith we held on our course and left the Island, sayling South and South-west to get above the land: the Island was not broad, but somewhat long, and full of Trees, which as we ghessed were Palmitas and Cocus Trees, it lyes under fifteene degrees fifteene minutes, having white sand ground: that night we saw fire upon the land in divers places.

The fifteene day in the Morning, having in the night sayled about ten leagues South South-west, we sayled close along by the land, where we saw many naked men standing on shore, calling and crying (as it seemed) to bid us come on land, and then againe there came another Canoe, from the land towards our ship, with three Indians in it, which also called to us, and would not come abord, but rowed to the Shalop, and went close to it, our men shewing them all the friendship they could, giving them some Beads and Knives, but they understood not one another having beene a little while by the Shalop, they left it, and came so neere to our ship, that we cast out a small Rope to them, which they tooke, but would not enter into the ship, but went into the Shalop, which came backe from the land without doing any thing, and having beene a good while in it, at the last one of them came into the Gallerie, and drew out the nayles of the windowes in the Marchants and Masters Cabines, and taking them away, hid them in his haire, they were desirous of Iron: for they ventured to pull out the bolts with their hands, and to carrie them away, we sought to keepe one of them in the ship, and to send one of our men with the other two in their Canoe to land, to make friendship with them but they would not. They

Lovers of Iron, as in the Ladrones.

were very theevish people, all naked, only a piece of a Mat hanging before their privie Members. Their skinne was marked with divers figures, as Snakes, Dragons, and such like things which shewed very blew, as if they had [I. ii. 95.] beene burnt thereon with Gun-powder, we gave them wine, as they sat in the Canoe, but they would not give us the Cup againe. Wee sent our Shalop once againe to the land, with eight Musketiers, and sixe men with Swords. Claus Johnson our under Marchant, and Arice Clauson the Marchant of the Horne, went with them, to see what was to be gotten in the Island, and to make friendship with them. But as soone as they were by the strand and the men went on shore, there came at least thirtie Indians out of the Wood, with great Clubs or Cudgels and would have taken our mens armes from them and thought to draw the Shalop upon the land, ventred to take two of our men out of the Shalop, thinking to carrie them into the Wood, but our Musketiers, having their Muskets readie, discharged three of them amongst them, and verily thought that they either killed or sore wounded some of them. They likewise had long staves, with very long sharpe things at the ends thereof, which (as we thought) were finnes of blacke fishes, they also cast stones with Slings, but (God bee thanked) hurt none of our men. Bowes they had not, as farre as we could see. Our men saw some of their women, that cryed and claspt their men about the neckes, but knew not what they meant, and thought they did it to get them from thence. That Iland (by reason we could there find no ground to anchor) we called the Iland without ground. On the out side it was low plaine ground, full of Palme Trees, but within full of salt water. At last when we saw that there was nothing to be gotten, we determined to leave it, and with an East wind held our course West to Sea-ward. There wee had slight water and no billowes as the day before wee had out of the South, and therefore wee ghest that South-ward there was more land: it is under fifteene degrees, about a hundred leagues distant from Dogs Iland.

Iland without ground.

Another Iland. The sixteenth day in the morning betimes, we saw another Iland, North-ward from us, which we made to, but found it as the other, without anchor ground, within also being all drowned land, yet on the sides it was full of Trees, but no Palme nor Cocos Trees. Wee put out our Shalop to sound the depth, but, going to the shore, found no ground, and therefore came abord againe, without doing any thing, or seeing any men. We sent our Shalop once againe to see if we could get any refreshing or water upon the land, who returning againe told us that they had found fresh water not farre from the shore, in a Pit or Keele, which they might bring with Buckets to the strand, but hard to get into the ship, for the Shalop, by reason of the billowes, lay fast at a dreg, by which meanes the men were forced, to draw one another with a Rope on land, and in like sort on boord againe, so that it was very troublesome and dangerous to goe on the land, and therefore fetcht but foure small fats of water. There also we found such herbes as we had in the Dogs Iland, whereof we brought a sackfull aboord, and some Crabs, as also some Shels and Hornes, that had fish in them of very good taste. That evening we held on our course West-ward, with an East-wind, and an indifferent gale, rainie weather and smooth water. The same day wee were under fourteene degrees, fortie sixe minutes. That Iland was fifteene leagues distant from the other, wee called it *Water Iland.* the water Iland, because there we got some water.

The seventeenth day we gave our men six cups of water, and sod a great Kettle with Pottage, made of the greene herbes that we had in water Iland, which did our men some good, and eased them of their loosenesse.

Flye Iland. The eighteene day in the morning, we saw another low Iland South-west from us, lying West North-west, and East South-East, as farre as we could see, at the least twentie leagues, distant from the other. We made to it, and being hard by it, sent out our Boate to sound the depth, they told us they found ground by a point of land, from whence there came a streame at twentie, five, and

fortie fathome, running softly downe, about a Musket shot from the land, whereupon we sent the Boat with our emptie Caske thither, hoping to find water, when it came to the land, they let the Schut lye fast at a Dreg in the water and drew one another with a Rope through the water, to land as they did before, there they sought a good way within a Wood for fresh water, but because they had no Armes with them, and saw a wild man, who as they thought had a Bow in his hand, they turned presently backe to the Shalop, and came aboord againe without doing any thing, and lying a good way from the shore, there came five or sixe wilde men to the strand, who seeing that our men were gone, went backe againe into the Wood. Upon that Iland there were great store of greene wilde trees, being also full of salt-water within. When our men came into the ship they were covered all over with Flyes, in such abundance that wee could not know them, their faces, hands, and Scute, all full, and the Oares also as farre as they were out of the water, were covered over with blacke Flyes, wonderfull to behold: those Flyes came with them aboord our ship, and flue so thicke upon our bodie, and in our faces, that wee knew not how to shunne them, for we could hardly eate or drinke, but all was full of them: wee still wip't our faces and hands, and made flaps to kill as many as we could, this continued two or three dayes with great trouble unto us all: at last we had a good gale of winde, whereby, and with continuall killing them, in the end when three or foure dayes were past we were rid of them: wee called that Iland, the Flye Iland, and therewith set forward from it, and had some raine, as also the next day, whereby we gathered so much water, with Clothes and Sailes, that it holpe us well. In the night we made no great way, but often times let the shippe drive, [I. ii. 96.] that wee might not by night fall upon such low Islands, and spoyle our shippe.

The three and twentieth, we were under fifteene degrees, foure minutes, and then againe had great hollow billowes out of the South, which the next day also continued; the

wind was North-east, and most part East, and East and by South. There they said, that Terra Australis which we sought for, lay yet two hundred and fiftie leagues further.

The five and twentieth, we filled foure vessels full of raine water, and still had hollow billowes out of the South, as we commonly have in the Spanish Seas out of the North-west.

May. The third of May the wind was still East South-east, and we sayled West, and at noone were under fifteene degrees, three minutes. That day we saw many great Dorados which were the first that we had seene in the South Sea.

The ninth, we were under fifteene degrees, twenty minutes, and at that time as we thought were 1510. leagues distant from the coast of Peru and Chili. About noone *A strange sayle.* wee sawe a sayle, which as we guessed was a Barke, comming out of the South, and went North-ward towards us, we presently made towards it, and as it came neere to us, we shot at it with one of our Pieces right over her, to make them strike, but they would not; then we shot againe, but yet they would not strike, with that we put out our Shalop with tenne Musketiers in it, to take her, which calling to them we shot another Piece, yet without any intent to reach or to hurt them, but they would not strike, but sought as well as they could to get away from us, and got to loofe-ward of us, but our Shalop beeing too craftie for them rowed to them, and beeing about halfe a musket shot from them, shot foure Muskets one after another, as they drewe neere to her, and before they could reach her, some of her men in great feare leapt over-boord, whereof one of them had a little child, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his backe, but not very deepe, for it was haile shot, those we fetcht out of the water againe: they also threw much of their goods over-boord, and amongst the rest three Hennes, our men leapt into their ship and carried them into our ship, they not once resisting; for in truth they had no armes, when they were

in our ship, we fetcht two men more that were left in theirs, which presently fell downe before us, and kist our feet and hands, one of them was a very old man, the other a young man, we could not understand them, but used them kindly, and presently the Shalop rowed to fetch those that leapt over-boord, to save their lives, but they got but two of them, that drove upon one of their oares, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much to say, that the rest were drowned: one of those two that was hurt, whom we drest, had long yeallowish haire. In that shippe there was at least eight women, three young sucking children, and some of nine or tenne yeeres old, so that we made account they were three and twentie in all, cleane naked people, both men and women, onely something hanging before their privy members. About evening we set the men on boord their ship againe, that were welcome to their wives, which claspt them about the necks, and kissed them. We gave them beades, (which they hung about their necks,) and some knives, and shewed them all the friendship we could, and they the like to us, giving us two fine Matiens, and two Cocos nuts, for they had not many: that was all they had to eate and drinke, and they had drunke out all the water out of the Nuttes, so that they had no more drinke. Wee saw them drinke salt water out of the Sea, and gave it also to their young children to drinke, which we thought to be against Nature. They had certaine cloathes which they ware before their privy members, and therewith covered themselves against the heate of the Sunne, of a yeallowish colour. They were reddish people, that anoynted themselves with Oyle: the Women had short haire, like our men in Holland: Mens haire was long, curled, and very blacke: their ship was of a strange fashion. It was made of two long faire Canoas with a good space betweene them, in each Canoa about the middle thereof, there lay two whole broad planckes of faire red wood, to keepe out the water, and divers planckes laid crosse over, from the one Canoa to the other, which were made fast together, and hung a good way over on

Drinkers of Sea-water.

The manners and Canoas of the Negroes.

both endes without the Canoas, very close above to keepe out the water, before at the ende of one of the Canoas, on starre-boord, there stood a Mast, at the ende thereof having a Forke, whereon the yard lay. The Sayle was made of Mats, and as the wind blew they sayled, without Compasse, or any Instruments for the Sea, but hookes to fish withall, whereof the upper part was stone, the other blacke bone, or Tortoyses shells, and some of them were mother of Pearle. Their ropes were very faire, and almost as thicke as a Cable, made of such stuffe as the figge-frayles in Spaine are. When they sayled from us, they held their course South-east.

The tenth wee had the wind South South-east, and South-east and by South, and held our course West and South-west. In the morning after breake-fast, wee saw very high land on Larboord, lying South-east and by South, about eight leagues from us: wee made to it, and sayled all that day with a good gale, but could not reach it.

The eleventh in the morning, wee were neere a high Island, and about two leagues South-ward from thence, another long low Island, that day wee sayled over a Banke of fourteene fathome deepe, stony ground, lying about two leagues from the land, and as soone as wee were over
[I. ii. 97.] it, wee could find no more ground. One of the shippes aforesaid came to us: they also carrie a Canoe in their shippe, which what time soever, they can put out: and are very good Sea-men. Their ships were of the fashion aforesaid, with good sayles, and are so swift of sayle, that few ships in Holland can out sayle them. They steere behind with two Oares, on each Canoe a man, and sometimes row with their Oares before, when they will wind, the ship also windes of it selfe when they pull the Oares out of the water and let it goe, or alone with the wind, wee put out our Shalop to sound, which came and told us that they had found ground at fifteene, fourteene, and twelve fathomes, shelvie ground, about a Canon shot from the land, wee presently made to it to Anchor, and tooke in

our sayles. The Negroes seeing that, made signes to us to goe to the other Island, and sayled thither before us, but wee anchored at the end of the Island, at five and twentie fathome sandie ground, a great Canon shot from the land. That Island is a high hill, almost like one of the Moluccos Island, full of trees, most Cocos trees, therefore wee called it Cocos Island. *Cocos Island.*

The other Island is much longer, but lower, lying East and West. As soone as wee were at an Anchor, there came three small ships, that sayled up and downe about our shippe, and at least nine or tenne Canoes boorded us, some from the land, and some out of the little shippes, among the which two of them put out little white Flags in signe of peace, and wee did the like. Their Canoes, which had three and foure men a peece in them, were flat before, and sharpe behind, hewed out of a whole peece of reed wood. Wherewith they could row exceeding swift, and when they came neere the ship, they leapt into the water, and swamme to our ship, with their hands full of Cocos nuts, and Ubes rootes, which they bartred with us for nayles and beades, whereof they were verie desirous, they gave foure or five Cocos nuts, for one nayle, or a small string of beadès, so that the same day we bartered for an hundred eightie Cocos nuts, and at last there came so many on boord, that we scarce knew how to bestirre our selves. Wee sent our Shalop towards the other Island, to see if there we could not lie better, for there we lay in the open Sea, but the Shalop was no sooner off from the ship, rowing along by the land, but it was inclosed round about by twelve or thirteene Canoes of the other Island, and still more came to them, the people within them shewing as if they were mad, having certaine staves of hard wood in their hands like clubbes, sharpe at the point, and a little burnt. They boorded our Shalop, and thought to have taken it from us, but our men thereby constrained to defend themselves, let flee three Muskets among them, whereat first they laught and mockt thinking it but a sport, but the third time one of them was shot into the breast

cleane through his bodie, which his fellowes seeing went presently to helpe him, & finding him to be so sore hurt, all of them kept off from the Shalop, and went to one of their small ships with sayles, and calling to it, would have had them to over row the Shalop, as we ghest, but they would not, for their Canoes had been aboord our ship, where they had beene well used, and friendly dealt withall. Those people were very theevish. They were lustie men, well proportioned, and of great stature, and went all naked and unarmed onely their privie members covered. Their haire was drest after divers fashions, some short, and some finely curled, some had long haire bound up in pleits in severall manner, they were notable swimmers. That Cocos Island lies under sixteene degrees, tenne minutes. The twelfth in the morning after break-fast-time, there came more Canoes aboord our shippe, with Cocos nuttes, Bananas, Ubas rootes, and some little Hogges, and some vessels full of fresh water; that day wee bartered with them for one thousand two hundred Cocos nuts, wee were eightie five men aboord, and every one had twelve nuts. They strove who should get first aboord, and those that could not get to the ship, leapt out of their Canoes, and dived under the other Canoes, to get to the shippe to sell their ware, holding Ubas rootes, and bunches of Cocos nuts in their mouthes, and climed so many, and so fast up to the shippe, that wee were forced to keepe them downe with staves. When they had sold their wares, they leapt out of the ship and swamme to their Canoes againe. They wondered at the greatnesse and strength of the shippe, and some of them crept downe behind at the rother, under the ship, and knockt with stones upon the bottome thereof, to proove how strong it was. There came a Canoe from the other Island, that brought us a young blacke wilde hogge, which the King sent us for a present, wee would have given the messenger somewhat for it, but he would not take it, making signes that the King had charged him not to take any thing. At noone the King himselfe came in a great shippe with a sayle, of

Theevish people.

the fashion aforesaid, like an Ice Slead, with at least thirtie five Canoes to accompany him. This King was by his men called Latou, wee received him with Drummes and Trumpets, whereat they wondred, because they never had seene nor heard the like before. They shewed us great honour and much friendship outwardly, with bowing their heads, clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange Ceremonies. When he was a little way from us, hee began to call and to crie out aloud, as if hee had prayed after his manner, all the rest of his men did the like, wee not knowing what it meant, but ghest that it was in stead of a welcome.

Presently thereupon the King sent us a Matien by three of his men, to whom wee gave an old hatchet, a few beades, some old nayles, and a peece of linnen cloth, which hee willingly received, laying it three times upon his head, and bowing it, in token of reverence or thankes, and curtesie. Those that came into our ship, fell on their [I. ii. 98.] knees, and kist our feet, and wondred much at our shippe. We could not know the King from the other Indians, for he was likewise cleane naked, but onely that they shewed him reverence, and he commanded over his men. We made signes that the King should come aboord of our Shippe: his sonne came aboord, and we entertained him well, but he himselfe durst not or would not come, but they altogether made signes to have us come to the further Island, with our Shippe, where there was enough of all things to be had. Among other things, we bartered with them for angles of haire, that were made of reede, as in Holland, but somewhat thicker, with hookes of mother of Pearle. The Kings sonne went to land againe, and the Canoa wherein he went had a great piece of wood on larboord, wherewith it kept upright, upon that piece of wood their angle lay readie to take fish.

The thirteenth in the morning, there came at least fortie five Canoas aboord, to traffique with us, with an Armado of three and twenty small shippes, made like Ice-sleads, each of them one with an other, having five and twentie

men a piece in them, and every small Canoa foure or five, we not knowing what their intent was. The Canoas dealt with us, bartering Cocos nuttes for nayles, and made show, as if they were our great friends, but afterward we found it otherwise: all of them made signes to us to sayle to the other Island: the King who the day before had been at our Shippe, came likewise in his ship with a saile to our shippe, and all of them made a great noyse. We would gladly have had him aboord, but he would not; wherewith wee suspected treason, fearing some mischiefe, and the rather, because all the Shippes and Canoas kept close round about our ship, and that the King went out of his ship into a Canoa, and his sonne into an other, and presently they stroke upon a kind of drumme that was in his shippe, whereat all the Indians began to crie out alowd, which we esteemed to be a warning given unto them, altogether to fall upon us, to take our shippe from us, and then the ship wherein the King sayled before he went out of it, boorded us, comming so hard upon us, as if it would have sunke us: but it strucke against our shippe with such a force, that the two heads of the Canoas before brake in pieces, wherewith the men that were in it, (among them having some women) leapt into the water, and swam to windward: the rest beganne to fling great number of stones at us, thinking therewith to feare us, but we shot at them with Muskets, and three great pieces (laden with Musket shot, and old nayles) wherewith all they that were in the shippe and Canoas that lay about our ship, leapt into the water. We made reckoning that some of them had forgotten the way to goe home againe, and that divers of them also were sore wounded, and therewith they went backe: they knew not what such manner of shooting meant, but yet when they saw how we had handled them with our shot, they kept aloofe out of the reach of our Pieces, and we hoysing anchor, set forward againe on our Voyage, holding our course West, and West and by South. We were of opinion, that the King at that time had assembled all his forces, for he had at the least a thousand

men, or rather more: among them we saw one that was cleane white.

When we were about foure leagues off from the Islands, many of our men would have had us goe backe againe to the Islands by force, to goe on land, to refresh our selves, in regard that we had but little water, but the Master and the Marchant would not. The first Island that was so high, we named Cocos Island; and the other that lay a league distant from it, we called Traitors Island, because the most part of the Indians that sought to betray us, came from that Island. *Traytors Iland.*

The foureteenth in the morning, we saw another Island right before us, about seven leagues distant from us, which seemed to be round, and as we ghest was thirty leagues distant from the Islands aforesaid. That Island we called the Hope, and made towards it, hoping there to get water, and better refreshing; but comming to it, could find no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop to sound a long the shore, which about a Musket shot from the land, found ground at forty fathome, small blacke and soft stony ground, sometimes also they had twenty and thirty fathomes, but as soone as they were a Shalops length or two from it, they had no ground againe. Then tenne or twelve Canoas came to our Shippe, but we would not let them come aboord, but shewed them friendly countenance, and bartered with them for foure flying fishes, for the which we gave them some beades, which we let downe by a rope at the sterne of the Shippe, and they taking them, tyed the fishes to the rope, and we puld them up: in the meane time our Shalop sounded along by the Land, which they in the Canoas seeing, presently made towards it, and beeing close by it, at first spake unto the men, but withall compassed them about with foureteene Canoas; and therewith some of them leapt over-boord, thinking to fall upon the Shalop, or to draw it away with them; which our men perceiving, shot with their muskets among them (there beeing sixe Muskets, and other armes, Courtelasses and Pikes in the Shalop) and therewith killed two of *Hope Iland.*

the Indians as they sate in their Canoas, where of one presently fell dead over-boord, the other sate still with his hand wiping off the blood upon his breast, but at last fell likewise over-boord: the rest in the Canoas, were thereat in so great feare, that in all haste they made away, at which time we saw many men standing upon the shore, that cryed and made a great noyse. But for that we there could finde no fit anchoring ground, we tooke our Shalop in againe, and went forward on our Voyage, holding our course South-west, the better to get to the South, hoping there to finde firme land. And it was so rough neere to [I. ii. 99.] the Island, that it was a very badde place for a Boat to goe on shore. The Iland was all full of blacke Cliffes, greene on the top, and blacke earth, and was full of Cocos Trees, and greene herbes. Wee also saw many houses along by the Sea-side, and close by the strand there was a great Village, the land was hilly, but not very high.

The eighteenth, being under sixteene degrees, five minutes, wee had variable West windes, that day we cald our Councell together, to whom William Cornelison Schouten our Master shewed, that then we were at the least one thousand six hundred leagues East-ward from the Coast of Peru, and Chili, and had not discovered any part of Terra Australis, as our intent was; that there was not any appearance to discover any thing to our contentments; that we also had sayled further West-ward, then we intended; that sayling forward in that manner, without all doubt we should fall South-ward upon Nova Guinea; and that if there we should find no passage or way to get through (it being very dangerous, uncertaine and not knowne) that then both ship and goods would be lost, and we our selves likewise should perish, it being unpossible to come East-ward backe againe from thence, by reason of the stedfast East-winds, that in the West parts continually blow; that we also had but small store of victuals, and saw no meanes as yet to increase them; and therefore asked their counsell, whether it was not their best way to alter their course, and to saile North-ward, thereby to get

North-ward to Nova Guinea, and so to the Moluccoes, which they considering of, and well weighing, found his reasons to be true, and thought it necessarie to be done, and therefore all with one consent agreed to saile North-ward, not to fall South-ward upon Nova Guinea, being an uncertaine way, but rather North-ward, to hold a certaine course: which was presently put in effect, and we set our course North North-west.

The nineteenth, the wind South, and our course North, at noone wee saw two Islands, North-East and by East, about eight leagues from us, which seemed to lye about a Canon shot distant one from the other. Then we went North-East, to saile about the land, with faire weather, but no great gale.

The twentieth, the wind was North-East, and wee did the best by labouring to get to the land.

The one and twentieth, the wind was East, with a small gale: and when wee were about a league from the land, there came twentie Canoes to our ship, to whom wee shewed all signes of friendship, but one of them with a woodden Assagay (sharpe at the point) in his hand, threatned to shoot at one of our men, and cryed aloud, as they did in the other Iland, which we thought was a signe among them, to fall upon us, whereupon we discharged two of our great Peeces, and therewithall some of our Muskets, whereby two of them were hurt, and the rest presently made away, as they fled throwing a shirt over-boord, which they had stolne out of our Gallerie.

The two and twentieth day there came divers Canoes to our ship, bringing some Cocos Nuts, and Ubas Roots, others brought a live Hog, and two rosted Hogs, for the which we bartered, and gave them slight Knives, Beades, and Nailes. Those people also were theevish, and would swim and dive exceeding well, as those in the other Islands could doe, their houses stood along the strand, which were round and made of leaves sharpe on the top and close like a paint-house, to let the water fall downe, about five and twentie foot in Compasse, and ten or twelve foot high,

with a low hole to go in stooping: in them there was nothing to be seene, but some dryed herbs, like hay, to sleepe upon, and an Angling Rod or two, and in some a woodden club or staffe, that was all their house-hold stuffe, the both best and worser sort, for the King himselfe had no more. Here wee found a convenient watering place.

The foure and twentieth day, Aris Clauson, Reymie Simonson Snocke, and Cornelison Schouten went on land to be Hostages, to make friendship with the Indians, and for them wee had sixe of their principall men in our ship, whom wee used friendly, giving them meate and drinke, and some presents, as they did to our men, giving them Cocos, and Ubas Rootes to eate, and water to drinke. The King shewed our men great reverence, and gave them foure little Hogs: that day our men fetcht five fats full of water peaceably without quarrelling, for when any of the Indians came neere our Boat, the King himselfe came thither and drave them thence, or sent one of his men to doe it. His men were very obedient unto him: for as it chanced that one of our Courtelasses was stolne away from us, and we told one of the Kings Gentlemen thereof, hee gave some of the Indians charge to fetch it againe, and presently hee that had taken it, was sought for, and although he was gone a good way of, they brought him backe; who being come, the Courtelasse was laid downe at our feet, and hee was beaten with staves, they making signes unto us, with their fingers upon their throats, that if the Herico (that is the King) knew of it, his head should be cut off: and after that, we had nothing stolne from us, neither on the shore, nor in the ship, nor elsewhere: neither durst they take a fish that we angled for. Those people were very fearefull of our shooting, for when we shot off a Musket, they all ranne quaking and shivering away, and we put them in more feare, when we shewed them that we could shoot with the great Peeces, which the King desired us once to do; which being done, they were all so fearefull and abasht thereat, that all of them, as also the King, (sitting under his Belay, or Canopie,

notwithstanding all that we could say or doe to perswade them,) sore amazed ranne into the Woods, and left our men sitting there alone. But not long after they came againe, scarce halfe well assured. [I. ii. 100.]

The five and twentieth day, Aris Clawson, Claus Johnson, and Daniel le Maire, went on land againe, to barter for hogs, but they would not barter. But after the King had said his Prayers, (which he used to doe every time that we went on shore,) shewed us great friendship, and we the like to him.

The six and twentieth day, Jacob le Maire our Marchant and Aris Clawson went on shore but could get no Hogs of the Indians, because they themselves had great need of them, having little else to eate but Ubas Roots, Cocos Nuts, a few Hogs, and some Bananas: our men were very welcome unto them, and had great reverence shewed them, for they trod upon Mats, and the King and his Lieutenant gave them their Crownes, which they tooke off from their owne heads, and set them on their heads, in recompence whereof, Jacob le Maire gave them some presents of little worth, wherewith they were very well pleased.

Crowns made of Feathers.

The Crownes were made of long small white Feathers and underneath and above mixt with some red, and greene Feathers, for they have many Parrots, and some Doves, whereof they make great account: for every one of the Kings Councell had a Dove by him sitting upon a sticke, those Doves are white on their backes, and all the rest blacke saving their brests, which are reddish: all that day we fetcht water, and bartered for good store of Cocos Nuts, and Ubas Roots.

The seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth dayes, we got all our water into the ship, then William Cornelison Schouten oure Master, and Aris Clawson went on land with the Trumpets, which the Kings tooke great pleasure to heare, and with much adoe got two Hogs.

The Kings Lieutenant putting a string about his feet, or his hands, climed quickly up a smooth high Tree, and

in a trice fetched down ten Cocos Nuts, which at one crush with a stick or a piece of wood, he so soone opened, that our men wondred to see it. They told us that they alwayes had warre with the men of the other Iland, and shewed us many Holes and Caves in the Hill, and Bushes and Groves in the way, from whence they issued out, and spoiled and killed each other: and would gladly have had us goe with our ship, to the other Iland to helpe them there, to fight against those Indians with our Peeces, but it being no profit unto us, we refused it.

They were in great feare of us, (although we shewed them all the friendship we could,) and doubted that wee would take their Countrey from them. The King promised us that if wee would goe thence in two dayes, he would give us ten Hogs, and a great number of Cocos Nuts, which they called Ali.

When he entred into the ship, he fell downe upon his face, and prayed, then we led him into the hold, and there againe he prayed, he wondred much at that hee saw, as wee also did at his behaviour: his men kist our feet, and tooke them in their hands, and laid them on their heads and their neckes, in signe of submission.

In the Evening by Moone-shine, Aris Clawson went out to fish, and having taken a great shole of fish, went to the King, there he found a number of yong Wenches dancing before him, one played on a hollow piece of wood like a Pumpe, which made a noyse, whereat the yong Wenches danced after their manner, very finely, and with a good grace, according to the measure of the noyse of the Instrument.

The thirtieth day in the morning, the King sent us two little Hogs for a Present: the same day, the King of the other Iland came to see the King of that Iland, and with him brought sixteene Hogs, and three hundred men in his Companie, all of them having certaine greene herbes hanging about their midles, whereof they make their drinke. When the King was neere unto the other King, he began afarre off with strange Ceremonies and Reverence

to bow downe his bodie, falling with his face upon the ground, and praying with a great noyse, and much zeale, as we thought. The other King went to meet him, and likewise with a great noyse and strange gestures, used him very reverently, and after much adoe, they both rose up on their feete, and went and sate together under the Kings Belay, and there were assembled together at least nine hundred men. When they went to sit downe they prayed againe, according to their manner, hanging downe their heads, and bowing downe to the ground, holding their hands one in another, which we admired. After noone, Aris Clawson being on shore, Jacob le Maire, Claus Johnson Ban, were sent for, who went a shore, with foure Trumpets and a Drumme, to the two Kings, there the Trumpets blue, and the Drumme played before them, wherein they tooke great pleasure: after that came a companie of Pesants, bringing with them a quantitie of greene herbes, which they called Cava, such as the three hundred men aforesaid had about their middles, and all together at once began to chaw the herbes in their mouthes, which being chawd they tooke it out of their mouthes, and laid it all in a wooden vessell, like a Tray, or Trough, and when they had chawd a great deale, they powred water into it, and so stirred and prest it together, and gave the liquor thereof to the Kings to drinke, who dranke thereof with their Gentlemen: they also presented that notable Drinke (as a speciall and a goodly Present) to our men, but they had enough, and more then enough of the sight thereof. They also brought a great number of Ubas Rootes, which they had rosted, and sixteene Hogs that were onely ript, and the guts taken out, but all blody, and not washt, and having certaine hot stones put into their bellies, and outwardly their haire singed off by the fire, were wel rosted after their manner, and they eat them as savourly and with as good an appetite, as we could do when they are well sodden or rosted after our manner. Those people yeeld great reverence and respect unto their Kings, for all the meate which they brought

Homely drink.

[I. ii. 101.]

before their King, (who in their Language they call Herico) they laid it upon their heads, and kneeling on their knees, set it downe before the King. Of those sixteene Hogs aforesaid, each King gave us one, presenting us therewith in this sort, first they laid them upon their heads, and kneeling laid them with great humilitie at our feet, and with them gave us eleven little live Hogs, and some indifferent great. And wee gave them three Copper Beakers, foure Knives, twelve old Nayles and some Beades, wherewith they were well pleased.

Those people were men of good understanding, and of great stature, for the least man of them was as big as the tallest of us, and the tallest of them was farre higher then any of us, they were strong men, and well proportioned of bodie and limbes, they went very fast, and swamme and dived under the water excellent well, their colour was altogether browne yellow, they were very curious in the dressing and trimming of their haire, some had it curled, some frizled, some wore it bound up in long folds, foure, five, or six, together, as our Women doe in Haire-laces, and some (which was strange to see) had their haire standing upright upon their heads, about a quarter of an elle long like Hogs bristles. The King had a long Locke of haire on the left side of his head, that hung downe beneath his hips, bound up with a knot or two. His Gentlemen had two such Lockes, on each side of their heads one, they went naked all alike both men and women, onely some little thing handsomely tyed before their privie members. The women were very unsightly both in face and bodie, of small stature, Their haire cut close to their heads, as our mens in Holland, their brests long hanging downe to their bellies like lether Satchels. They are very lecherous, for they suffer themselves to be used by their men openly in all mens sight, and in the Kings owne presence, only under a Mat. We could not perceive that they worshipped God, or any Gods, or used any devotion, neither the one nor the other, but lived without care, like Birds in the Wood.

It is likely they have some Religion by the Images, which M. Candish saw in other Ilands of the Ladrones, and by the prayers before mentioned.

They had no skill of buying or selling, but with flags they delivered us some-what, and we in like sort to them againe. They neither sowe, nor reape, nor doe any worke, There the Earth of it selfe yeelds all that they need to sustaine their lives: as Cocos, Ubas, Bananas, and such like fruit. When the water fals, The women looke upon the shore on the Sea side for fishes, and when they will, they take them with their Hookes, and eate them raw, so that there men may plainly behold and see the golden World, whereof the Poets write. When we left that Island, we called it Horne Iland, after the name of the Towne from whence we came, and the Bay wherein we anchored, the Unities Bay, after our ships name: that day for the most part, we were busie to get out, and to hoyse up our Anchors, one of our Cables was fretted in peeces with the sharpnesse of the ground where it lay, so we lost that Anchor, and the Cable fretting upon a Cliffe, brake as we wound it up and lost that Anchor also. This Bay lyes on the South side of the land, in a Docke under fourteene degrees fiftie six minutes. *Horne Iland.*

We departed the first of June; the one and twentieth we made towards land which we saw very low and going neere unto it, found many sands which stretcht North-west of from the land, there were three or foure Ilands, all very small but full of Trees. There a Canoe boorded us, being of the same fashion as afore, but somewhat greater, able to hold five or sixe men. The men in all respects as the former, and spake the same Language, but somewhat blacker having some thing before their privie members. Their armes were Bowes and Arrowes, which were the first Bowes that we saw among the Indians in the South Sea, we gave them some Beades and Nayles, but they pointed toward the West to tell us that there was more land, where their King dwelt, and many things to be had. Therefore we held our course West-ward againe, finding no fit place to anchor in. This Iland lay South South-west, and West from us, under foure degrees, fortie seven minutes. *June*

The two and twentieth the wind East South-East, we sayled West, and West and by North, under foure degrees,

fortie five minutes, that quarter we had a good gale of wind, and faire weather, and that day saw at least twelve or thirteene Ilands, one close by another, West South West from us, reaching South-East, and North-west about halfe a league, but sayled along by them, leaving them on Lar-boord.

The foure and twentieth the wind South, at noone we saw land on Lar-boord, being three low Ilands, that lay South-west from us, very greene and full of Trees, two of them were two miles long a piece, the third very little: the shore was hard cliffie ground, there likewise wee could find no anchoring: we called them the Greene Ilands. We also saw a high Iland that had seven or eight hovels forth right, lying West and by North from us, in the night wee held off and on, staying till day.

The five and twentieth in the morning, as we were all sailing by the aforesaid Iland, we saw other land before us, in the South-west, which was exceeding high, which wee thought to bee the point of Nova Guinea, we made towards it, leaving the other high Iland that lay Westward, *S. Johns Iland.* which we called Saint Johns Iland, because it was Saint John Baptists day. About noone we got to it, and sailed [I. ii. 102.] along by it with an East South-East wind, but could find no anchor ground, we sent out our Shalop to sound the depth, and went along by the shore betweene the Ship and it, and being somewhat neere the shoare, there came two or three Canoas to it, with blacke Indians in them all naked without any thing before their members, which fiercely cast stones at our men with slings, but as soone as our men began to shoote at them they fled away. The Shalop came on boord againe, without finding any ground, telling us that the peoples language was cleane contrary to the former. Wee sayled along by the coast, which was verie high and greene, pleasant to behold where we saw much land as it had beene houses; at evening we got about the point into a Bay, there wee anchored at five and fortie fathome, unfit and uneven ground. The same evening there came two Canoas to the Ship, and spake to us, but

wee understood them not, all that night they held watch against us, with fire all along their coast: we lay about a Cannon-shot distant from the shoare, against a running river: that night it was very still calme moone-shine weather, the wind on the land, there came some Canoes close under the Gallery of our Ship, from whence we threw them some beades, shewing them all the friendship wee could, withall making signes unto them, to bring us some Cocos nuttes, hogges, oxen or goates, if they had any, but they stayed still most part of the night by us, crying and hollowing after their manner. They were wild, blacke, and rude men. This land as we ghest, lay distant from the coast of Peru, one thousand eight hundred fortie leagues.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, there came eight Canoas about our Shippe, whereof one had eleven men in it, the others foure, five, sixe and seven men. They rowed close about our shippe, and were well furnished with armes after their manner, as Assagayes or Clubs, woodden Swords and Slings, we shewed them what friendship wee could, and gave them Beades and other trash, making signes to them to goe on shoare to fetch us Hogges, Hennes, Cocos nuttes, and other fruit, such as they had, but they had another meaning, and altogether began fiercely to Sling with their Slings and other weapons, thinking to master us, but wee standing upon our guard, shot with our Muskets and great shot amongst them, and slew at least tenne or twelve of them. They left the great Canoa, and three other, and leaping into the Sea swamme to land: we put out our Shalop, and rowed it among those that swamme away, and slaying some of them, brought three of them prisoners into our shippe, that were sore wounded, and foure of their Canoas, which we hewed in peeces, to make fire for the Cooke. The hurt men were cured, but one of them died; about noone our men rowed with the two wounded men to the land, along the shore: there the prisoners cryed to their fellowes to bring us Hogs, Bananas and Cocos nuttes, wherewith one Canoa came aboord, that brought a little Hog, and a bunch of Bananas, wee set one

of the men at tenne Hogs ransome, the other that was sore hurt, wee let goe in the Canoa, because we doubted he would not live, those men had two holes bored in their noses, on either side one, wherein they ware rings, strange to behold. There wee saw another Island lying North from that great Island.

The seven and twentieth, wee fild our emptie vessels full of water, and that day wee got a Hog from the land, and there saw divers red Birds.

The eight and twentieth, there came certaine Canoas aboord our Shippe, but brought nothing with them, neither would they ransome their man, therefore wee let him goe on shore againe. We thought those people to bee Papoos, for all their haire was short, and they eate Betell and Chalke mingled with it, that night wee hoysed Anchor, and set sayle, with a small gale of wind.

The nine and twentieth, the wind was variable, and our course was North-west, and North-west and by North, with faire weather till noone, then it calm'd. At evening wee were still in the sight of the Point of the Island, and yet we sayled along by the land, which reached North-west, and North and by West, with many Bayes and Crookes. The same day we saw three high Islands more, that lay North-ward from the great Island, about five or sixe miles. Then we were under three degrees, twentie minutes.

The thirtieth in the morning, driving in a calme, divers Canoas, with blacke Indians came aboord our Ship, who in signe of peace, as they entred, brake their Assagayes over their heads: they brought us nothing, but desired something of us. They seemed to be better and friendlier people then the other, for they covered their privie members with leaves, and had better kind of Canoas, set out before and behind with some carved workes; they are very proud of their beades, which they paint with chalke, and the haire of their heads also. Upon the three or foure Islands, from whence those Canoas came, there was great store of Cocos trees.

The first of July in the morning, we anchored betweene *July.* an Island of two miles long, and the firme land of Guinea: about noone there came twentie five Canoas toward our Ship, with many men well armed: being the same people, who the day before brake their Assagayes over their heads, and made a friendly shew unto us, but with intent to abuse us, as after it appeared, who seeing us to lie in a calme, thought to take our Ship from us. We had two Anchors hanging out before at the bough, a little puld up, whereon they sate, on each Anchor a man, with a Pingay or Girdle in their hands, wherewith they use to hold or draw forth their Canoas, and so thought to draw the Ship to shore: [I. ii. 103.] the rest hung fast upon the ship, wee still standing upon our guard: at last, they began fiercely to throw at us with stones and other weapons, and thereby hurt one of our men, being the first that was hurt in all our voyage, but wee shot among them with our Muskets, and with our upper tyre of Ordnance, and kild at least twelve or thirteene of them, and hurt many more: and while they fled away, our men rowed with the Shalop, (well armed) after them, and tooke one prisoner, being a young man about eighteene yeeres old, whom we named Moses, after our mans name that was hurt. Those people eate bread made of rootes of trees. After this fight we sayled all along by the land, with a good gale, West North-west, and North-west and by West.

The second, wee were under three degrees, twelve minutes, and that day saw low-land on Lar-boord, and also a great high hill, and right before us a low Island, wee sayled softly West North-west, with slight water East North-east.

The third, we saw high land againe, West from us, about fourteene leagues from the other Island, under two degrees and fortie minutes.

The fourth, as we were busied to passe by the aforesaid foure Islands, we saw at least twentie two or twentie three *Many Islands.* others, great and small, high and low, which we left on Star-boord, onely two or three on Lar-boord. They lay

close one by the other, some a league, or a league and a halfe, and some more then a Cannon shot, distant one from another, under two degrees twentie five or thirtie minutes little more or lesse.

The sixth, sometimes we had a hard wind, and sometimes calme with raine, lightening and thunder, and before noone saw a very high hill, being South-west from us which we sayled unto: our Master was of opinion that it was Banda, by reason it was very like to the hill called Geomenapi in Banda, and very like for height, but going neere unto it, wee might see two or three hills more like unto it, that lay on the North side of the first hill, about sixe or seven leagues distant, whereby we knew that it was not so. Behind that hill, we saw very much land, east and Westward, which was so long, that on either side wee could not see an end thereof, sometimes high, and then low, reaching East South-east, whereby wee ghest it to bee Nova Guinea, and for that night came upon us wee held off from it.

The seventh in the morning, before day we wound againe towards the high hils, which was a burning Island, casting fire and flame from the top thereof, and therefore we called it Vulcans Island, the wind then was South-west with faire weather. This Island was well inhabited, and had many Cocos trees in it, the people came with some Canoas to our Ship, but were very fearefull of us: they called unto us, but wee understood them not, neither could our blacke Moores tell what they said: they were all naked, onely their privie members covered, their haire some short, some long. There we found no ground, and so could not anchor. In the North and North-west we saw more Islands, at which time wee went North-west and by West to a low Island that we saw before us, which in the evening we got unto. Then we took in our sayles, and let the Ship drive. There we found divers colours of water, greene, white and yellow, which wee ghest to be water comming out of rivers, for it was sweeter then the Sea-water. There many trees, leaves, and

Vulcans Island.

boughs drave in the water, whereon some Birds and Crabs sate.

The eighth, the wind beeing variable, we held our course West South-west, and West North-west, with faire weather, and a reasonable gale of wind, having on Starre-boord a high, and on Lar-boord a low Island, reasonable high, we made toward the land, which about Evening we got unto, and found good sandy ground at seventie fathome deepe, about a Cannon shot from the land. There certaine Canoas came to us, with a kind of ill-favoured people, all Papoos, their haire short, and curled, having Rings in their noses & eares, and strings about their heads or armes, and Hogs teeth hanging about their neckes, for an ornament. They also eate Betel, and were all defective persons, some great legs, others swolne armes, and so forth; whereby it is to bee thought, that thereabout it is unholesome land, and the rather, because their houses stood upon stakes, about eight or nine foote from the ground, there wee had three degrees fortie three minutes, and found a little shew of Ginger.

The ninth in the Morning, lying at Anchor, our Shalop rowed to looke for a fit place to anchor the shippe in, and returning told us, that they had found a fit Bay, where unto wee went, and anchored at twentie sixe fathome good sandy ground mixt with clay. There about stood two small Villages, from whence there came many Canoas aboord our Ship, that brought a few Cocos nuts, but they esteemed them very deare, for foure nuts asking a fathome of linnen cloth, whereof they were very desirous. They also had some Hogges, which they held at a deerer rate, and what neede soever we said we had thereof, and made signes to them to bring us some, they would not doe it. That day every man in our Ship had allowance of five pound of bread, and a measure and a halfe of oyle a weeke, a cup and a halfe of Sacke a day, and a Niperkin of Aquavita, all our Pottage, as Pease, Beanes, Gurts, and our Flesh, Bacon, and Fish beeing spent, and we knew not where we were, beeing uncertaine whether we were

far or neere to the Indian Islands, as also what place we were in, though we sayled continually by the land, not knowing whether it was Nova Guinea or no: we onely
[I. ii. 104.] ghest at it, for all the Cardes that we had did not agree, nor were like to the land that we saw. That land for the most part reacheth North-west and by West, sometimes some what more Westerly, and sometimes againe more Northerly. The twelfth, we sayled still West North-west, along by the Coast with faire weather, and without Sunneshine, at noone beeing under two degrees, fiftie eight minutes, with helpe of the streame, that set us about the West, as it did all along the Coast of Nova Guinea.

The thirteenth and foureteenth, we sayled along by the afore-said Coast, sometime by high and then by low land. The fifteenth, we had the wind, and held our course as afore-said, along by the Coast, with good weather, after noone we came to two low inhabited Islands, about halfe a league from the maine land, which stood full of Cocos trees. We made towards them, and there found good anchor ground, at forty, thirty, twentie five, and twenty, to sixe and five fathome deepe, and there anchored at thirteene fathome good ground. The Master rowed with the Boate and the Shalop well armed, to the land, thinking to get some Cocos nuts, which there were upon the land in great abundance: but going on shore, the Indians lay in ambush right against the place where we came to land, and watching for us, shot so fiercely at us with their Bowes, that they hurt at least sixteene of our men, some in the arme, others in the legge, necke, and hands, and other places. And we shot at them with Muskets and Slings, but at last by reason that the Indians shot so thicke, we were forced to retire, there we were under two degrees fiftie foure minutes.

The sixteenth in the morning, we sailed in with our Ship betweene both the Islands, and anchored at nine fathome, where we had good lying, after noone our Boat and Shalop rowed to the lesser Island, to fetch some Cocos, and burnt two or three of the Indians houses: about

Evening our men came aboord againe, and brought so many Cocos nuts, that every one of us had three nuts for his part. Those people are cleane naked, their privie members and all.

The seventeenth in the morning, there came two or three Canoas towards our shippe, and threw Cocos nuts into the water, making signes to us to fetch them, whereby they sought to be friends with us. We made signes to them to come aboord, at last taking better courage, they came close to the Shippe, and brought us as many Cocos nuts, and Bananas as we desired, which we drew up by ropes into the gallery, giving them old nayles, rustie knives, and beads in barter; they also brought us a little greene Ginger, and yellow Rootes, which are used in stead of Saffron, bartered also with us some of their Bowes and Arrowes, so that at last wee were great friends with them.

The eighteenth, wee bartered still for Cocos nuts and Bananas, and some Cassavie and Papede, which is also to be had in East India. There we saw some Jarres or earthen pots, which as we thought came from the Spaniards. Those people were not so inquisitive to looke into our ship as others were; for they knew what shooting with great Pieces meant, and called the Island wherein they dwelt Moa, which lay most Easterly, the other over against it they called Jusou, and the uttermost (beeing a very high Iland) lying about five or sixe leagues from Nova Guinea, they named Arimoa. We bought as many Cocos nuts and Bananas as we desired, so that every man had fiftie nuts, and two bunches of Bananas. Those people use Cassavie for their bread, but it is nothing like to that of the West Indies, they bake it also in round cakes.

Moa Island.

Jusou.

Arimoa.

Cassavie.

The twentieth in the morning we set sayle, after we had againe bartered for more victualls, they made signes to us to lie still, and they would bring us more.

The one and twentieth, we sayled along by the land West North-west, and at noone were under one degree thirteene minutes. Then we saw a number of Islands,

whereunto the streame drave us, and about noone we got to them, and anchored at thirteen fathome. The evening we had much raine, thunder, and lightning.

The three and twentieth in the morning we set sayle, with good weather and a good gale, and beeing a little from the land, sixe great Canoas followed us, (and yet wee saw no men on land) bringing dried fish, (which wee tooke to be Steenbrasses,) Cocos nuts, Bananas, Tabacco, and some small fruits like Prunes. There also came some Indians from an other Island that brought us some Victualls, that also had some China porceline, for we bartered for two dishes, whereby we were perswaded that many Christian shippes had been there, for they wondered not, as others did, at our shippe. They were another kind of people then the former, of a yellower colour, and greater of body; some of them had long haire, some short, and also used Bowes and Arrowes, whereof wee had some in barter. They were very desirous of beads, and iron-worke, and had greene, blewe, and white glasse rings, sticking in their eares: which we ghest they had from the Spaniards.

The foure and twentieth we were under halfe a degree, with a little gale, and sayled North-west, West and South-west, along by a faire great Island, very greene and pleasant to behold, which we called William Schoutens Island, after our Masters name, and the West point thereof, the Cape of Good Hope.

Schoutens Island.

The five and twentieth, we saw much land on Larboord lying South South-west from us, some very high, and some very low. The seven and twentieth we saw three Islands more, the Coast reacht North-west and by West.

[I. ii. 105.] The seven and twentieth, we were under nine and twentie minutes South-ward of the line, and saw much land South-ward from us, some high, and some very low, and past West North-west along by it.

The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth the weather was variable, that night wee had an Earthquake, which made our men for feare to runne out of their

An Earthquake.

cabbins, our Shippe seeming as if it stroke against the ground, but we cast out our lead, and found no ground.

The thirtieth, we sayled in a great Bay or hollow place, so that we seemed to be round about inclosed with the land; wee did our best to find an opening, but could not, and therefore sayled North-ward againe: that day it thundred and lightened so sore, that our Shippe shooke therewith, and sometime seemed to be on a light fire, wherewith we were in no small feare, and after it ensued so great a shower of raine that we never had seene the like before.

The one and thirtieth we perceived that we were entred into a place where wee had the land round about us, therefore we held our course North, and that Evening past the Equinoctiall line the second time, and beeing closed by the land, anchored at twelve fathome good ground, about a Cannon shot from an Island, that lay close by the firme land, but there we saw no men nor any thing growing.

The first of August, wee hoysed anchor with great labour, for it lay under a Cliffe, but at last we got it up, we were then fifteene minutes North-ward of the line, in the Evening with the hard streame, we went close to the land, and by reason it was calme, anchored in uneven ground, and not deepe. *August.*

The second it was very calme, and we drave with the streame West and West and by North, with rainy weather.

The third, wee held our course as before, with a calme, and found a Banke, so farre in the Sea that wee could scarce see the Land, in some places being fortie, in an other twentie, fifteene, and twelve fathom sandie ground, wee anchored at twelve fathom, because it waxt night, and the Master desired to see how the streame went, it was West South-west. The same day wee were under five and thirtie minutes North-ward of the line, and saw many Whales, and Tortices. Wee ghest by the height, that wee were at the end of the land of Nova Guinea, having sayled along by the Coast two hundred and eightie

leagues, that day we sawe two Islands more West-ward from us. Raynes and Calmes troubled us.

The fift, in the morning, as our Shalop rowed to land, wee saw first two, and then three Canoas more come off from the land, and made towards our Shalop, and being hard by it, put out a Flagge of Peace, and our men the like, and then went aboord: the Canoas followed them and also came aboord, they brought us nothing but a muster, or shew of Indian Bounties and Erties, with some Rice, Tabacco, and two Paradice Birds: wee bartered for one of them that was white and yellow. Wee could understand them reasonable well, for they spake Tarnata words, and one of them spake good Malaian, which language Aris Clawson our Marchant could speake well, some of them spake some Spanish, and among them they had a Spanish Felt. They wore faire clothes, about their middles, and some had Silke Breeches on of divers colours, some also had Wreathes about their heads, which they say were Turkes or Moores in Religion. They ware Gold and Silver Rings upon their fingers, their haire was all coale blacke. They bartered their ware with us for Beades, but rather desired Linnen: They were very warie and fearefull of us. Wee askt them what the name of this Countrie was, but they would not tell us, but by many circumstances wee judged and verily beleeved, that wee were at the East end of Gilolo, on the middle-most Point of the Land, (for Gilolo reacheth out with three Points to the East) and that they were men of Tidore, friends to the Spaniards, as we also found it so to be, which made us all rejoyce, that after so many windings and turnings, and troubles endured, we were come to the place which wee knew, and hoped in short time to come among our Country-men, a thing which wee so long, and so much had hoped for and desired.

Beans or Pease.

Gilolo.

The sixth day in the Morning we having a good gale, South South-east, and bad lying there, hoysed Anchor to goe on our Voyage to the Moluccos, and held our course North, with a good gale to goe North, about the North

point of Gilolo. The seventh it rained, and we saw the North-east point of Gilolo, called Moratay, which lay South-east from us. *Moratay.*

The eighth about noone, we were under foure degrees three minutes North-ward of the line, that night it rained hard with thunder and lightening, there we found the streame to go Northward. The ninth and tenth the Wind was variable, with rainie weather, and we were under the height of three degrees fiftie minutes. The eleventh in the Morning, we sawe the land of Gilolo called Moratay againe, on the North-east point of Gilolo, we did the best wee could to reach it, but the streame put us off from the land towards the North, and could not reach it that day. *The Current.*

The twelfth and thirteenth, we were under two degrees fiftie eight minutes, with variable winds, and much raine; and the like the foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth. The seventeenth with great labour and much trouble we got [I. ii. 106.] under the land, late in the Evening, and drave along by the Coast with faire weather: that night we saw many fires upon the land.

The eighteenth it was still weather, and we drave along by the Land: about noone two Canoes came to us with a flag of Peace, from the Village called Soppy; they were Tarnataens, with whom we could speake well, and some of them were of Gammacanor: they shewed us, that a Pinnace of Amsterdam had laine there three moneths to lade Rice, and that about a moneth or two before, also an English ship had beene there. How glad we were then when we were so well assured, that wee were come to so good and long desired a place, after so much paine and trouble that we had endured, with eightie five sound men, when we had spent all our victuals, every man may judge that hath proved the like adventure. There we were under two degrees, fortie seven minutes, and anchored at eight and twentie fathome: some of those men stayed that night with us, the next day to bring us to the Road of Soppy. *Soppy.*

The nineteenth we sayled into the Bay, and there

anchored at ten fathome sandie ground, about a Canon shot from the shore. That day we bartered for some Sagow, some Hennes, two or three Tortoyses, and a little Rice.

September. The seventeenth of September we had a good gale, and did our best to get to Tarnata: that morning besides we saw a sayle to looseward from us, which also made towards Tarnata, being the Morning Starre of Roterdam, of three hundred Tunnes burthen, having in her sixe and twentie great Peeces. At noone our Shalop came from that ship, where she had lyen three nights, they being in the Creeke of Sabou, found there the Admirall Verhaghen there, in one of the Admirall Speilberg his ships, by whose men we understood of Speilbergh his Acts and Voyage.

They also told us, that there were ten ships well furnished at the Manillas, their Generall being John Dirickeson Lam of Horne, to set upon the Spanish fleet, that were comming to Tarnata. We also understood, that Peter Bot sayling home with foure ships, was cast away, upon Mauricius Iland, with three ships, by meanes of a storme that cast him upon the Cliffes, where many of his men and himselfe also was drowned, the fourth ship scapt.

October. The three and twentieth of October we set sayle, and the eight and twentie went by Iacatra, where we anchored without the Iland: there we found three ships of Holland; the Horne, the Eagle, and the Trou; and three English ships. The next night one of our men dyed, which was the first man that dyed that voyage, in the Unitie, besides two more that dyed in the Horne: the one John Cornelison Schouten, our Masters brother, in the South Sea, by the Dogs Island, and one about the Coast of Portugall: so that untill then, there dyed but three men in both the ships, and then we had left eightie foure men living, all indifferently well.

The one and thirtieth, the ship called Bantam, with John Peterson Koeven of Horne, President of Bantam, for the East India Company, came before Iacatra.

The first of November, the President John Peterson

Koeven sent for William Cornelison Schouten our Master, and the Marchants, to come on land, where being come (in the presence of his Councell there assembled) he told them in the name of the East Indian Companie, that they must leave their ship and goods there, and deliver it up into his hands: and although our Master shewed him many reasons, to perswade the contrarie, saying, that they did them great wrong, they were forced to doe as the President appointed them, who told them, that if they thought they did them wrong, that they should right themselves in Holland: and so our ship and goods was stayed and attached there. To receive the ship and all her furniture, the President appointed two Masters of ships, and two Marchants, which was delivered by Inventory unto them, by our Master & the Marchant. This was done upon Munday the first day of November, after our reckoning; but upon a Tuesday the second of November, by our Countrimens reckoning there. The reason of the difference of the time fell out thus: as we sayled Westward from our owne Countrey, and had with the Sunne compassed the Globe of the World, wee had one night, or Sun-setting, lesse then they: and they that come out of the West, and sayle to the East, thereby had one day or Sun-setting more then wee, which make a quarter difference, and so as we made our reckoning of the time then with our selves, and did the like with our Countrimen, that weeke wee lost the Tuesday, leaping from Munday to Wednesday, and so had one weeke of six dayes.

A day difference in computation of time, how caused.

Our ship being in this manner taken from us, some of our men put themselves into service with the East Indian Company. The rest were put into two ships, (that were to goe home into Holland) called the Amsterdam, and the Zeland: their Generall, being George van Speilberghen. The Master William Cornelison Schouten, Jacob le Maire, and ten of our men, went with the Generall in the Amsterdam, the Masters name John Cornelison May, alias Meuscheater: and Aris Clawson, and the Pilot Claus

Peterson, with ten others, in the Zeland, the Masters name Cornelis Riemlande of Midleburgh, which set sayle from Bantam the fourteenth of December.

The two and thirtieth our Marchant Jacob le Maire dyed.

The first of January, 1617. we lost the sight of the Zeland.

The foure and twentieth, we were under the Iland Mauricius at anchor, where wee refresht our selves; and the thirtieth set sayle from thence.

[I. ii. 107.] The sixt of March, as we ghest, we past the Cape, but saw it not.

The one and thirtieth, we were under the Iland of Saint Helena. Where we found the Zeland, which arrived there certaine dayes before us.

The sixt of Aprill after we had refresht our selves, and taken in fresh water, both our ships set sayle, and the fourteenth of Aprill saw the Iland of Ascention.

The three and twentieth we saw two ships to loose-ward from us under one degree South-ward of the Line, but because we could not reach them, wee held on our course. The foure and twentieth in the morning, we were the fift time under the Equinoctiall Line, and the eight and twentieth we saw the North-starre, which wee had not seene in twentie moneths before. The first of July we came with the Amsterdam into Zeland, where the day before the Zeland likewise was arrived: And so performed our Voyage in two yeares, and eighteene dayes.

FINIS.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Navigations and Voyages

of English-men, alongst the Coasts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea, the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares, Continents, and Ilands.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the first English Voyages to the East-Indies, before the establishment of the East-Indian Societie.

The English Generalls, Drake and Candish, first Compassers of the world, and the most fortunate: Magellans ship, not himselfe effected a more renowmed then happy Voyage, whom the Hollanders followed, guided by English instructions, and Marriners not their fortunes.

§. I.

Of Sighelmus, Mandevile, Stevens, Fitch, and divers other English-men, their Indian Voyages.

HAving now taken Sea-view of the Universe, and incompassed the whole Circumference of the Globe, in the former sixe Voyages; the first of Portugalls and Spaniards, the second and third of English, the three last of Hollanders, therein not a little furthered by English Pilots, and their Notes, as is before observed of Melis, Adams and others: Wee are in the next place, to take more exact survey of

the world in the principall Navigations, to the most famous and remote Regions thereof. Glorious and happy were those sixe Worthies, which prooved themselves true Sonnes of the Sunne and Tethys, a farre more Germane and Genuine issue, then that daring Phaeton, who asked and attempted his Fathers Chariot, but exchanged it and himselfe for this miserable Epitaph.

Quem si non cecidit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.

But these have attained what they sought, and what hee in his Vulcanian Chariot lost, these in Neptunian Chariots gained, and followed the Sunne round about the world; at once seeming to imitate the heavenly Orbes (as so many Terrestriall Planets) and to rule the Elements, spurring the Ayre, bridling the Ocean, contemning the narrow limits of known Earth, & filling the world with their Fame. But Others also, for their Marine adventures are worthy honour, if not compassing that honour of those First Worthies (worthy to bee reputed First, and Worthies) yet in another kind, attempting as great a designe, of as dangerous hazard, long Perigrination, costly expence, and profitable advantage, as the former. Such were those which have passed the blacke Guineans, and doubled the *Hopefull Promontory, from thence piercing into the Erythræan and Indian Seas, Lands, Islands, enriching our World, with a world of rarities for contemplation and use.

*Cape of Good Hope. [I. iii. 110.]

To leave to other Nations Suapræmia laudi, the English exploits in this kind are the subject of this Booke, especially theirs, which since the establishing of the East Indian Company, or Societie of Marchants, have traded those parts; which was begun in the happy and flourishing Reigne of that Glorious Elizabeth, whose Name could not end with her life, but as then it filled the Christian, Turkish, Persian, American, Indian, worlds of Place; so still it seemes to begin, renue, and flourish in glorious verdure, and to promise a perpetuall Spring thorow all Worlds and Ages of Time. Before Her times I confesse

Praise of Queene Elizabeth.

divers of our Nation have merited honour in this attempt, as Sighelmus, Bishop of Shire-borne, sent by that famous and religious King Alfred, to Saint Thomas his Sepulchre in India, whence hee brought precious Spices and Jewels, Anno 883. twice recorded by William of Malmesbury: as likewise a certaine English-man mentioned by Matthew Paris, Anno 1243. which travelled the East part of the world with the Tartars in their famous expeditions: That I say nothing of Sir John Mandevill his many yeeres travell through all the East, written by himselfe; and by that famous Geographer Ortelius, commended for his Geography (I feare, corrupted by some leaden Legendary spirit in other passages) and many Others, which Histories dignifie in the time of the Holy-land warres, for their Easterne travells, and many more, no doubt, buried in the ruines of Time, by Oblivion and Obscuritie.

Sighelmus his travells to India.

W. Malm. de gestis Regum Anglorum & de gest. Episc. Aug.

In her time wee have record of divers Indian Voyages by English-men, before that Societie began.

First, the Voyage of Thomas Stevens, from Lisbone to Goa, by the Cape of Good Hope, was written by himselfe from Goa, the tenth of November, 1579. and is extant in Master Hakluits second Tome of Voyages.

Thomas Stevens.

Likewise the Voyage of Master Ralpe Fitz, by Syria and Babylonia, to Ormus, and thence into, and through many Countries of the East Indies, begunne 1583. and continued till 1591. is to be read in the said second Tome of Master Hakluit, and in Linschoten.

Ralph Fitz.

Also a Voyage, 1591. with three tall Ships, the Penelope, Admirall; the Marchant Royall, Vice-Admirall; and the Edward Bonaventure, Rere-Admirall; to divers Islands and Regions of the East Indies, by Master George Raymond; of which the Marchant Royall, was sent backe from Soldanha neere the Cape Bona Esperanza, which both the other Ships doubled, and neere the Cape Dos Corientes were severed by a storme, and the said Voyage was onely accomplished by Master James Lancaster in the Rere-Admirall. For these I referre the desirous Reader to Master Hakluits Printed Booke. This last Voyage I have

George Raymond and James Lancaster.

by mee, written by Henrie May, Purser of the said Ship; but because his relations are principally touching the accidents in their returne, wherein he was cast away in a French Ship on the Bermudas, I have refer'd that discourse to a fitter place.

English-men in Dutch Voyages.

In the fourth place, wee may reckon those English-men in divers of those Dutch voyages about the Globe, Timothy Shotten, Thomas Spring, John Cald-well, and others. Yea the name of English-men were so famous in the East, that the Hollanders in their first trade thither, varnished their obscuritie with English lustre, and gave out themselves English.

John Newbury.

Moreover, Master John Newbury, was not onely companion with Master Ralph Fitch in his said Voyage, and prisoner with him at Goa: but before that, in the yeere 1580. had travelled to Ormus, and thence into the Continent (as by his Journall, which I have, in fitter place may appeare) passing through the Countries of Persia, Media, Armenia, Georgia, Natolia, to Constantinople, and thence into Danubius, Valachia, Polonia, Prussia, Denmarke, and so into England.

§. II.

The Voyage of Master Benjamin Wood, into the East Indies, and the miserable disastrous successe thereof.

IN the yeere 1596. by the charges principally of Sir Robert Dudly, was set forth a Fleete of three Ships, the Beare, the Beares Whelpe, and the Benjamin, committed unto the command and conduct of Master Benjamin Wood. The Marchants imployed in this Voyage, were, Master Richard Allot, and Master Thomas Bromfield, of the Citie of London. These men for their better furtherance, intending to pierce as farre as China, obtained the gracious Letters of Queene Elizabeth of famous memory to the King of China in their behalfe, which begin in this manner.

Elizabetha, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & Christianæ fidei contra omnes falso Christi nomen profitentes invictissima Propugnatrix, &c. Altissimo, Serenissimoque, Principi, Potentissimo Magni Regni Chinæ Dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ Partibus, Insulisque adjacentibus Imperatori, & Magno in Orientalibus Mundi Regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multosque cum omni optimarum rerum copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cùm honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad Serenitatem vestram perferunt, Ricardus Allot & Thomas Bromfield, &c. Datæ in Palatio nostro Grenovici XI. Mens. Julii Anno Christi 1596. annoque nostri Regni XXXVIII.

See the whole Letter, Hak. To. 3. pag. 853.

[I. iii. 111.]

This their honourable expedition, and gracious commendation by her Majestie to the King of China in their marchandizing affaires, had not answerable successe; but hath suffered a double disaster; first, in the miserable perishing of the Fleet, and next in the losse of the Historie and Relation of that Tragedie. Some broken Plankes, as after a shipwracke, have yet beene encountered from the West Indies, which give us some notice of this East Indian disadventure. Quæ Regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? This intelligence wee have by the intercepted Letters of Licentiate Alcasar de Villa Señor, Auditor of the Royall Audience of Saint Domingo, and Judge of Commission in Puerto Rico, and Captaine Generall of the Provinces of New Andalusia, written to the King and his Royall Councell of the Indies. An extract whereof, so much as concerneth this businesse, here followeth. Wherein, let not the imputation of Robbery or Piracie trouble the Reader, being the words of a Spaniard, and the deeds of English in the time of warre twixt us and Spaine.

An extract of a Spanish Letter which I found amongst Master Hakluits papers.

AN other Commission your Royall Audience committed unto mee, to punish offenders that did usurpe a great quantitie of goods of your Majesties, in the Island of Utias. Of the state that I had in the end of the last

yeere, I sent relation to your Majestie, inserting a declaration of one Thomas an English man, of the goods that in the said Island hee and his companions had, and for this onely I will make a summarie relation of the Case, and the state of the Suite, by the which will appeare, that out of England went three Shippes for the India orientall of Portugall, which tooke three Portugall Shippes, subjects to your Majestie, whereof one of them came from the Citie of Goa, and from the Captaine they tooke a great rich stone, which he said hee carried for your Majestie, the proportion whereof went in the said Relation. They had in them also many bagges of Royalls of eight and foure, for the pay of the Souldiers, which your Majestie hath in Garrison, in a Castle Frontire of the said India; and the said English-men rob'd them of it, and much more goods appertaining to your Majesties subjects: and by sicknes of the English-men, remained only foure, which in a boat put all the goods they could, which they had robbed from your Majestie and your subjects, and with it chanced to a River in the Island of Utias, three leagues from this Island: where they tooke out their goods on land, where their Boat was sunke and lost: so they remained on th' Island, with only one small Boat made of boords, which they had taken from certaine Fishermen, at the head of Saint John of this Island: with the which they came for water hither, and left one George an English-man, one of the foure that arrived in the said Island of Utias. Who being found by Don Rodrigo de Fuentes, Juan Lopez de Alizeda, Juan Morales, Juan Martinis, Juan Ruiz, Pedro Chamacho; He gave them notice of the things above said, and of the Stone, Stones, Gold, Plate, Testones, and other goods that was in the said Island, and the parts and place where the three English-men and their goods they might find. Whereupon they consulted and agreed, to passe to the said Island of Utias to possesse and benefit themselves with the goods that they should there find, and so they past over, and carried with them a Letter of George the

Three Portugal Ships taken by the English.

English-man, that his companions should deliver themselves to them, with their weapons and goods. And being come neere to the place where the English-men were, they set up a white Flagge of Peace, and the English-men seeing this, set up another, and so came peaceably to speake together, where they promised them their Faith and Friendship: whereupon the English-men yeelded themselves, with their armes and goods to the said Don Rodrigo, and his consorts: who tooke possession of all, and parted among themselves the money, and hid and kept secret the Stone, and Stones, Gold, Plate and other goods, leaving a small quantitie of Plate in barres, and Silkes to make this small part manifest, that the truth might not be knowne what quantitie of Stones, Gold, Plate, and the rest of the goods they usurped. They consulted and agreed to murther the English-men, with whom they had eaten, drunke, and slept in company of peace: who having kil'd Richard and Daniel, and would have kil'd Thomas, hee escaped into the mountaine from them, and the said Don Rodrigo and his consorts came backe againe to this Island, with intent to kill, as they did kil George the English-man with poyson, & sent backe again to the said Island of Utias, to seeke Tomas for to kill him also; who with a piece of Timber passed over to this Island with great admiration. They having knowledge thereof, sought all the meanes they could to kill him. Here the said Don Rodrigo, and Juan Lopez, de Aliceda, came to this Citie and before the Governour manifested and made denuntiation of a small quantitie of goods that they found in Utias, and the rest of their complices presented themselves for witnesse, falsly prooving that they had found no more goods, then that little that they there manifested, and that they had kil'd three English-men in fight to get it. And thus they plotted many false informations, before Christo vall de Marcado, a chiefe Officer, which was sent with Commission of your Governour, to fetch the Plate [I. iii. 112.] and goods so manifested, and by their perswasion many false witnesses have deposed, who have used many tricks, inven-

tions, cavills, & false devises to cover the truth; and they sent by three passages to the Island of Utias, to approve the so killing of the three English-men, and that their manifestation was true, intending to remaine with the rest, which they usurped, who understanding that there were diligences done to approve their delict, some of them have broken the Prisons and Goales, and fled out of them, especially the sayd Don Rodrigo de Fuentes. Who being in prison with a chaine and bolts, and two Souldiers for guard, hee fyled off his Irons, broke the prisons, and fledde away by night, and carried with him two Blacke-Moores of his that were attached for your Majestie, and went to the River of Toa, two leagues from the Citie, where hee remained a long time in sight of this Citie, with a Horse, Lance, Pistoll and Sword, whom being favoured of many kinsfolkes and friends of his wife, I cannot apprehend, although I did many diligences, in the meane while I tooke the examination of his complices who have confest the deed, and that the said Don Rodrigo is Actor of all; by whose counsell and direction they were all governed. But they have not declared all the Stones, Gold, Plate, and Amber, saying that they were in the Island separated and devided, that the one might hide his things without the privitie of the other. The proovances and likelihoods doe much charge the said Don Rodrigo, and therefore I have proceeded against him, for Absence and Rebellion, and they discovered in their confessions all their Complices; whom I have examined for witnesses one against another, being a case wherein Complices may serve for witnesses. This cause being concluded by an extraordinarie diligence, I have apprehended him, and for that the sute is of two thousand leaves, I have made a memoriall to take his confession of more then two hundred questions, and he hath confessed almost as much as his Complices, and denieth to have the great stone and the rest; the said Don Rodrigo having taken from Daniel the English-man two chaines of Gold, the one hanged with

an Agnus Dei, and the other with a Crucifixe of Gold, and with it a collar of Gold, which Thomas the English-man declareth to have fiftie pieces Ameled, to bee worne for a womans chaine, with certaine Braslets and Rings of Gold with many small Stones: which declareth the said Juan Martines, one of his Complices, and the said Don Rodrigo onely confesseth two Chaines and three Rings, which he saith were stolne from him, and his said Complices, having declared that three bags of Testones, of eight and foure Royalls which fell to the part of him and John Ruiz, they had past to this Island, which the said John Ruiz hath confest, and as witnesse hath declared that hee brought them, and carried them by the order of the said Don Rodrigo unto his house, which hee will not deliver, saying, That they were stolne from him in the mountaine where hee did hide them: and his Complices having declared that he tooke in the said Island, a great masse of broken Silver, which Thomas the English-man declareth to be fiftie pound weight, the said Don Rodrigo denieth the same. And having taken more two sackes of Plate in barres, which by witnesse I did proove to weigh more then two hundred pound weight each of them; hee hath delivered of all this onely tenne pound and a halfe, and saith that he spent and sold twelve pound, and a pound and a halfe was stolne out of his house, and that hee gave to Christopher de Mercado twentie and six pound, when he went with Commission from your Governour to fetch the Plate manifested: he denieth all the rest, affirming that he brought from the Island of Utias a Pot full of Plate, which hee saith fell from him into a River. And having prooved that he carried tokens from George the English-man where he should find the great Stone in a Presse, made up betweene two Boords, hee denieth the same: and having prooved that the first time that hee went to the Island, hee brought thence a Purse of Velvet, without telling or shewing to his companions what was in it at the mouth thereof, did appeare certaine Boords of the Volume of two hands together, and it is presumed it was

that whereinto Thomas the English-man declareth the Stone was put, and hee will not deliver the said Purse, saying, that it was stolne from him: he declareth and manifesteth some little pieces of wood that he brought in it, and two witnesses his Complices declare that those small pieces that he manifesteth he brought out of the same Island many dayes after, being sent thither by order of the said Christopher de Mercado. Many other tokens and presumptions concurre that hee hath the said Stone and the rest, and the rest of the Stones. It is likewise prooved, presently after they returned from the said Island, the first time that they passed thither, it was publikely said and famed, that the said Don Rodrigo had found a Stone of great value, and to cover the truth hee was furnished with many Informations, which I have prooved to bee false, which were past before Christopher de Mercado, when hee went with the said Commission to bring the goods manifested: for the which the said Don Rodrigo gave him the said twentie sixe pound of Plate, and hee and his Complices one hundred two and twentie Crownes of Gold, and foure hundred and fiftie Royalls of Foure, and others things of the goods that they usurped in the said Island. The said Don Rodrigo directed his Complices what they should say and do, and therefore they told not the truth in many examinations that I tooke of them, till such time that the said Don Rodrigo was fled out of the prison: so fayling of his counsel, they presently declared and confessed the fact, will serve for witnesses, and it doth appeare by many other witnesses that they before denyed the truth, and after his escape they declared the same, and [I. iii. 113.] concealed the same before at the request and perswasion of the said Don Rodrigo also appeareth, that hee sent three small Carvels to the Iland, to the place where they said they had killed three English men in fight, and he confesseth he did the same, to the end that his first Declaration might seeme to bee true, that he sent them by order of the said John Lopez de Alyceda, Constable

of the vale of Coa, mo; which hath no Jurisdiction Civill nor Criminall. So I apprehended him and committed him and having brought the said Thomas English man, to this Citie who declaring before your Governour by Interpreter the fact of this Sute, the said Don Rodrigo procured to kill him, and for the same he requested of the Licentiate Antonio de Robles Physician, a proportion of Poyson, which both he and the said John Martine have declared: and appearing that the said John Lopez did not passe to the said Iland as Constable, nor carryed with him any Scrivener of two that were present when they imbarked themselves, and having confest, and as a witnesse declared that he past to the Iland, not as an Officer, but as a companion, and therefore tooke his share of the Testones, the said Don Rodrigo holdeth for his principall defence, to have passed to the Iland with a Constable, and that all was done by his order, and that the said Informations were false. I have charged the said Don Rodrigo, of these and other offences that by the Processes appeare, and commanded that he might have a Copie of them that with in the space of fifteene dayes, hee might alleage and prove what was convenient in his right, with all charge of publication, conclusion and scitation for all the acts and sentences, leaving the Processes in Rebellion made against him in his force and vigor. He let passe the said Terme, and I granted him other three Termes of fifteene dayes, which likewise he let passe, and in the end of them hee refused me, and generally all the Inhabitants in this Citie, and thirtie leagues about it, excepting only sixe friends of his, and your Royall Officers they refused. So I accompanied myselfe only with one Bailiffe, for the time of tryall, reserving to have power to accompanie myselfe for the sentence with your Auditor which is looked for heere, and commeth to this Port for your Royall Audience of Sancto Domingo, and I granted him the fourescore dayes of the Law, and hee hath made no proofe nor can make none. For all that were in the said Iland of Utias have declared the delicts of the which the said Don

Rodrigo is charged, and there will bee found no other by whom to make proofe of any thing to the contrary: and the cause being concluded, the said Audites past without entring into this Port. And the said Bailiffe and other persons that I pretended to accompany mee refused me, saying, that if they did Justice, the Kindred of the Wife of the said Don Rodrigo, which have taken his part would doe them harme, and in not doing the same, they did charge their consciences: and notwithstanding any person with whom I might be accompanied, that might not be without suspect, and the refusall was so generall and availeable, I accompanied myselfe at the last with Batcheler Joseph Derebolledone, Naturall of the Island of the Canaries, which chanced to come to this Port. Likewise the said Juan Ruiz being Prisoner, brake his Prison and Gaole, and withdrew himselfe into the Cathedrall Church of this Citie, and made himselfe strong in the Tower from whence I gate him, and a Sute was followed before the Judge Ecclesiasticall, where I defended your Majesties right, and made an Information in the which I alleaged all the said goods to belong to your Majestie, hee having committed Robbery in the usurpation of it, and other grievous Delicts, that they ought not to enjoy the Immunitie Ecclesiasticall which hee pretended: and with many judgements and opinions of Theologie, the Judge Ecclesiasticall gave sentence that he ought not to be releeved of the said Immunitie Ecclesiasticall, for that by the said Information may be better understood. This Sute and Justice of your Majestie, which I have thought good to send: and if to the contrary the said Don Rodrigo doe write, may be understood the credit that may be given to one that hath done such Delicts; and made so many Inventions and false Informations: to obscure and remayne without punishment with your Royall goods.

A conclusion of the Sute was made with them all, and I gave and pronounced sentence, in the which I condemned the said Juan Lopez, exaliced Juan Ruis, Joan Martines, Pedro Camacho to death, and losse of halfe their goods

applyed for your Majesties Chamber: and more I condemned the afore-said in solidum, and that within five dayes of the notification of this my sentence, they give and deliver the goods that they shared, all that yet remayneth undelivered to the accomplishment of that which Thomas the English hath declared, therefore said, and his companions to have taken in the Iland of Utias, of which they afore-said, and Complices were possest of, hid and kept secret, that it might be put unto your Majesties Chests, whose it is and to whom it doth belong.

The same sentence I gave with my Companion against the said Don Rodrigo de Fuentes, and remaynes pronounced in secret, having others to sentence that they may come forth together in the pronuntiation. I command that within the five dayes they deliver the said goods: which not accomplishing, I did command a Mandate to be dispatched, that they may bee executed: with the which, I hope, to discover these goods, and they shall be restored to your Majestie, for the which I will doe all the diligence possible for my intention is not to execute them. And thus God keep the Catholike person of your Majestie. From Potorico the second of October, 1601.

§. III.

[I. iii. 114.]

The Travailes of John Mildenhall into the Indies, and in the Countryes of Persia, and of the Great Mogor or Mogull (where he is reported afterwards to have died of *Poyson) written by himself in two Letters following.

See my Pilgrimage. lib. 5. cap. 7. l. 4.

THE twelfth of February, in the yeere of our Lord God 1599. I, John Mildenhall of London, Merchant tooke upon me a Voyage from London towards the East-Indies, in the good Ship called the Hector of London, Richard Parsons being Master, which carried a Present to the Grand Seigneur in the same Voyage. The seven and twentieth of April, 1599. we arrived at Zante, where I frighted a Satca, and went into

April 27 1599.

the Island of Cio, from thence to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople, where I arrived the nine and twentieth of October, 1599. and there I staied about my Merchan-
May 1600. dize till the first of May, 1600. Sir Henry Lillo beeing then Embassador: upon which day I passed from Constantinople to Scanderone in Asia, where in company of a Chaus, and some sixe other Turkes, I tooke my Voyage
Aleppo. for Aleppo over land, and arrived in Aleppo the foure and twentieth day of the said May in safetie, without any trouble or molestation by the way, and there abode two and fortie dayes, finding there Master Richard Coulthrust
July 7 1600. for Consull. And the seventh of July, 1600. I departed from Aleppo, in companie with many other Nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turkes, and divers others, to the number of sixe hundred people in our Carravan, and onely of English M. John Cartwright, Preacher: from
Bir. whence we went to Bir, which is within three dayes journey, and stands upon the edge of the river Euphrates.
Ursa. From thence we went to Ursa, which is five dayes journey, which we found very hot. From thence we went to
Caraemit. Caraemit, which is foure dayes journey. From thence
Bitelis. to Bitelis, a City under the government of a Nation called the Courdes, yet under the subjection of Constantinople,
Van. which is seven dayes journy: and from thence to Van, which is three dayes journy from Bitelis, a City of great
A great Lake of salt water. strength, and by the side of the Castle is a great Lake of salt water, navigable, and is in compasse nine dayes journey about, which I myselfe have rowed round about. And once a yeere, at the comming down of the snow waters from the Mountaines, there is abundance of Fish, which come of themselves to one end of the Lake, which I may compare to our Herring-time at Yermouth, where the Countrey-people doe resort from divers places, and catch the said Fish in great abundance, which they salt, and dry, and keepe them all the yeare for their food: the Fish are as big as Pilcherds. From thence we went to
Nacshian. Nacshian, which is sixe dayes journey: and from Nacshian
Chiulfal. to Chiulfal, which is halfe a dayes journey, and there we

stayed eighteene dayes. From thence we went to Sultania, and from thence to Casbin in Persia, which is fifteene dayes journey, and there we abode thirty dayes. From thence to Com, which is three dayes journey: from thence we went to Cashan, which was seven dayes journey. From thence M. Cartwright departed from us, and went to Spauhoan, the chiefe Citie in Persia: from Cashan to Yesd, which is tenne dayes journey. From thence I went to Curman, which is tenne dayes journey; and from thence to Sigistam, which is foureteene daies journey: and from thence to Candahar, which is also foureteene dayes journey.

Sultania. *Casbin.* *Com.* *Cashan.* *Yesd.* *Sigistam.* *Candahar.*

The Second Letter of John Mildenhall to M. Richard Staper, written from Casbin in Persia, the third day of October, 1606.

WOrshipfull Sir, my duty remembred: Not having any other of more auncient love then yourselfe, I have thought good to remember the manifold curtesies received, and partly to requite them with the first newes of the successe of this my Voyage, *unto the Court of the Great King of* Mogor and Cambaia. At my arrivall in Lahora the of 1603. I dispatched a Poste for the Kings Court with my Letters to his Majestie, that I might have his free leave to come unto him, and treat of such businesse as I had to doe with him from my Prince. Who foorthwith answered my Letters, and wrote to the Governour of Lahore, to use mee with all honour and curtesie, and to send a guarde of horse and foote with me to accompanie me to Agra, where his Court was, beeing one and twentie dayes journey from Lahora; and beeing neere arrived, I was very well met; and an house with all things necessarie was appointed for mee by the King: where reposing myselfe two dayes, the third day I had audience, and presented his Majestie with nine and twentie great Horses, very faire and good, such as were hardly

Lahora. *He arriveth at Agra, 21 dayes journey from Lahora.* *His present to the King of Mogor.*

found better in those parts: some of them cost me fiftie or threescore pounds an horse, with diverse Jewels, Rings, and Earerings, to his great liking. And so I was dismissed with his great favour and content.

[I. iii. 115.] The third day after, having made before a great man my friend, he called me into his Councell: and comming into his presence, He demanded of me, what I would have, and what my businesse was. I made him answere, That his greatnesse and renowmed kindnesse unto Christians was so much blased through the World, that it was come into the furthermost parts of the Westerne Ocean, and arrived in the Court of our Queene of Englands most excellent Majestie; who desired to have friendship with him, and as the Portugals and other Christians had trade with his Majestie, so her Subjects also might have the same, with the like favours; and farther, because there have beene long Warres betweene her Majestie and the King of Portugall, that if any of their ships or Portes were taken by our Nation, that he would not take it in evill part, but suffer us to enjoy them to the use of our Queenes Majestie. All this the King commanded to be written downe by his Secretarie; and said, that in short space he would give me answere. With that I withdrew myselfe with leave and went to my house. Within eight or ten dayes after hee sent me home in money to the value of five hundred pound sterling, the first time with very comfortable speeches. Shortly after, as I was informed, hee sent to certaine Jesuites, which lived there in great honour and credit, two in Agra, and two others in Lahora, and shewed them my demands: whereat the Jesuites were in an exceeding great rage. And whereas before wee were friends, now we grew to be exceeding great Enemies. And the King asking their opinion in this matter, They flatly answered him, That our Nation were all Theeves, and that I was a Spye sent thither for no other purpose to have friendship with his Majestie, but that afterward our men might come thither, and get some of his Ports, and so put his Majestie to much trouble: saying withall, that they

This Voyage was made in Q. Elizabeths Reigne.

The Jesuites calumniation of our Nation.

had eleven yeeres served his Majestie, and were bound by their Bread and Salt that they had eaten to speake the truth, although it were against Christians. With these and many more such speeches, the King and his Councell were all flat against mee, and my demands, but made no shew thereof to me in any respect: but I knew it by friends, which I had in his Court. Afterward they caused five Commandements to bee drawne and sent them mee, withall things that I had written: saving, they had left out the taking of the ships, and the Ports of the Portugals. Which when I had read, I presently went to the Court, and made demand of the other Articles. The King answered, that hee would again speake with his Councell and make answer. In this manner rested my businesse, and every day I went to the Court, and in every eighteene or twentie dayes I put up Ars or Petitions: and still he put mee off with good words, and promised that this day and tomorrow I should have them. In this manner, seeing myselfe delayed, and being at exceeding great expenses of eighteene or twentie Servants, Horsemen and Foot, I withdrew myselfe from going to the Court, in so much that in thirtie dayes I went not. At length the King remembring me, sent to call for me: At my comming he asked the cause why I came not, as I was wont: I answered, that I had come into his Countrey only upon the great renowme of his Excellencie, and had wasted five yeares in travaile, and could not obtaine so much as a Commandement at his hands, which was wholly for his profit, and nothing for his losse: adding, that if I had asked some greater reward of him, hee would much more have denyed me. With that he presently called for Garments for me of the Christian fashion very rich and good, and willed me not to be sad, because every thing that I would have should be accomplished to mine owne content. So with these sweet words I passed sixe monethes more: and then seeing nothing accomplished I was exceeding wearie of my lingring, and could do nothing; and the rather for that I was out of money.

Five yeares spent in travel.

Rich garments bestowed by the grand Mogor upon Master John Mildenhal.

I should have declared before how the Jesuites day and night sought how to work my displeasure. First, they had given to the two chiefest Counsellors that the King had, at the least five hundred pounds sterling a piece, that they should not in any wise consent to these demands of mine: so that, when I came to present them, they would not accept of anything at my hands, although I offered them very largely: and where I had any friendship, they would by all meanes seeke to disgrace me. But God ever kept me in good reputation with all men.

The sundry practices of the Jesuites.

1.

Moreover, whereas I had hired in Aleppo an Armenian named Seffur, to whom I gave twentie Duckets the moneth, which served me very well for mine Interpreter foure yeares; now comming neere to the point of my speciall businesse, the Jesuites had soon wrought with him also in such sort, that he quarrelled with me and went his way: whereby I was destitute of a Drugman, and my selfe could speake little or nothing. Now in what case I was in these remote Countries without Friends, Money, and an Interpreter, wisemen may judge. Yet afterward I got a Schoolemaster, and in my house day and night I so studied the Persian Tongue, that in sixe monethes space I could speake it something reasonably. Then I went in great discontentment to the King, and gave him to understand how the Jesuites had dealt with me in all points, and desired his Majesties Licence to depart for mine owne Countrey, where I might have redresse for mine injuries received; and withall told him, how small it would stand with so great a Princes honour, as his Majestie had report to be, to delay me so many yeares only upon the reports of two Jesuites, who, I would prove were not his friends, nor cared not for his profit, nor honour; and desired a day of hearing, that now I my selfe might make plaine unto his Majestie (which for want of a Drugman before I could not doe,) the great abuses of these Jesuites in this his Court: beseeching you againe to grant mee licence to depart, and that I might not bee kept any longer with delayes. At these words, the King was mooved against

2.

An Armenian served him foure yeares for Interpreter.

He studied sixe monethes the Persian tongue in Agra.

Many yeares delay.

[I. iii. 116.]

the Jesuites; and promised that upon the Sunday following, I should bee heard, and that the Jesuites should be present. This speech I had with the King upon the Wednesday. Comming before the place of Councell the Sunday following, there were met all the great States of the Court to heare the controversie betweene us.

At the first the King called me, and demanded what injuries I had received of the Jesuites: I answered, That they had abused my Prince and Countrey, most falsely, calling us all Theeves; and if they had beene of another sort and calling, I would have made them eate their words, or I would have lost my life in the quarrell. Secondly in saying, That under colour of marchandise wee would invade your Countrey, and take some of your Forts, and put your Majestie to great trouble. Now that your Majestie may understand, the untruth of these mens false suggestions; know you all, that her Majestie hath her Ambassadour Leiger in Constantinople, and everie three yeeres most commonly doth send a new, and call home the old, and at the first comming of every Ambassadoor shee sendeth not them emptie, but with a great and princely present: according whereunto her Highnesse intent is to deale with your Majestie. This profit of rich presents and honour, like to redound to your Majestie by having league of amitie, and entercourse with Christian Princes, and to have their Ambassadours Leigers in your Court, these men by their craftie practices would deprive you of. And our Ambassadours being resident, as pledges in your Court, what dare any of our Nation doe against your Highnesse, or any of your subjects. Upon these and other such like speeches of mine, The King turned to his Nobles and said, That all that I said was reason; and so that all answered. After this I demanded of the Jesuites before the King; In these twelve yeeres space that you have served the King, how many Ambassadours, and how many presents have you procured to the benefit of his Majestie: With that the Kings eldest sonne stood out, and said unto them, naming them, That it was

The Queenes Ambassadour Leiger at Constantinople.

most true, that in a eleven or twelve yeares, not one came either upon Ambassage, or upon any other profit unto his Majestie. Hereupon the King was very merrie, and laughed at the Jesuites, not having one word to answer. Then I said, If it please your Majestie, I will not onely procure an Ambassadour, but also a present at my safe returne againe into your Countrie. Divers other demands and questions were at that time propounded by the King and his Nobles unto me: and I answered them all in such sort, as the King called his Vice-Roy, (which before was by the Jesuites bribes made my great enemy) and commanding him, that whatsoever priviledges or commandements I would have, hee should presently write them, seale them, and give them me without any more delay or question. And so within thirtie days after I had them signed to my owne contentment, and, as I hope, to the profit of my Nation. Afterwards I went and presented them unto the Prince his eldest sonne, and demanded of him the like commandements: which he most willingly granted, and shortly after were delivered unto me. And so departing from the Court, I brought them with me into Persia: which are here in Casbin with my selfe, readie to doe you any service: and I would have come my selfe when I wrote this Letter, save that there were two Italian Marchants in Agra, that knew of all my proceedings: whom I doubted, as I had good cause, least they would doe mee some harme in Bagdet, or some other places; they alwayes being enemies to our Nation, that they should find any new trade this way, as to you it is well knowne: And within foure moneths I meane to depart by the way of Moscovia; where arriving I will not faile but satisfie you at large of all matters.

The great Mogor granted large priviledges to Master John Mildenhall.

He departeth from Agra. John Mildenhall returned homeward by Casbin.

The Italians are our enemies for seeking trade in those parts.

Your Worships to command,

JOHN MILDENHALL.

The Voyage of Captaine John Davis, to the Easterne India, Pilot in a Dutch Ship; Written by himselfe.

To the
Right Honourable, my exceeding
good Lord and Master, Robert Earle of Essex, &c.

RIght honourable, and mine exceeding good Lord, my dutie must advise mee, to present this Journall of mine East Indian Voyage, to your Lordships most judiciall view. Wherein I have used my best diligence to discharge my duty, as neere as my slender capacitie could effect the same, according to those directions which your Lordship gave mee in charge at my departure; when it pleased you to imploy mee in this Voyage, for the discovering of these Easterne parts of the world, to the service of her Majestie, & the good of our Countrey. What I have seene, I doe signifie in [I. iii. 117.] this Journall to your Lordship: and that which I have learned by the report of other Nations (when it shall please God to make me happie by your Lordships favourable presence) I will make farther knowne to your Lordship, aswell of the King of Portugall his places of Trade and strength, as of the enterchangeable trading of those Easterne Nations among themselves: beginning at Cefala, which is his first footing beyond the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and so proceeding to Mosambique, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Coulam, Onor, Mangalor, Cochin, Columbo, Negapatan, Porto Grande in Bengala, and Malacca: As also to the Citie of Macao, in the Province of Canton in the famous Kingdome of China: and to the Ilands of the Moluccos, and Amboyno. Which places are all in the Portugals possession serving for his securitie and refuge. Moreover he hath trade in Monomotapa, Melinde, Aden, Arabia, Cambaia, on the Coast of Coromandel, Balaguate,

and Orixa. Of all which Nations there bee some dwelling in Achen in the Ile of Sumatra, trading in marchandize, where I have met with Arabians, and a Nation called Rumos, who have traded many hundred yeares to Achen. These Rumos* come from the Red Sea. There are in Achen many Chineses that use trade, of whom I have beene kindly used, and can well informe your Lordship of that worthy Kingdome of China. The trades of Gusarate are very ample. All which the Portugals with the locke of discretion have providently long concealed, which now through Gods favour are made knowne unto us. I have here inclosed sent your Lordship the Alphabet of the Achens Language, with some words of the same; which they write after the manner of the Hebrewes. I have also sent by Master Tomkins of their Coine, which is in usuall payment. That of Gold is named a Mas, and is nine pence halfe penie neerest. Those of Lead are called Caxas: whereof a thousand sixe hundred make one Mas. Good my Lord, remember the poore Widowes Mite. For surely, if I could doe more in this service, or otherwise, it should not be omitted. From Middleborough this first of August, 1600.

** Constantinople is called New Rome, and thence in the East, the Turkes are called Rumous, of that their chiefe Citie.*

Your Lordships most dutifull Servant,

JOHN DAVIS.

A briefe Relation of Master John Davis, chiefe Pilot to the Zelanders in their East-India Voyage, departing Middleborough the fifteenth of March, Anno 1598.

THe fifteenth hereof we departed from Flushing with two ships in Consort, the Lion, and Lionesse: the Lion being foure hundred tuns, had in her a hundred three and twentie persons: the Lionesse two hundred and fiftie tuns, had a hundred persons. Mushrom, Clarke, and Monef of Middleborough Owners and only Adventurers thereof. Cornelius Howteman chiefe Commander of both ships, having a Commission from Grave Maurice,

by the name Generall. The two and twentieth we anchored in Tor Bay with bad winds.

The seventh we set saile, the twentieth we had sight of Porto Santo, the three and twentieth we fell with Palma: the last hereof we came with the Islands of Cape Verde. *Aprill.*

The first we anchored at Saint Nicholas, one of the said Ilands in latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes. Here wee watered the seventh, wee departed the ninth, wee fell with Saint Iago. *May.*

The ninth we fell with the Coast of Brasill, in seven degrees of South latitude, not being able to double Cape Saint Augustine: for being about the Line we had very unconstant weather, and bad windes, being in this desperate case we shaped our course for a small Ile named Fernando Loronha, in foure degrees of South latitude, the fifteenth we anchored upon the North-side thereof in eighteene fathomes. We found in this Iland twelve Negroes, eight men, foure women. It is a very fruitfull Isle, and hath exceeding good water, it aboundeth with Goates, it hath also Beefes, Hogs, Hens, Mellons, and Ginnie Corne: with plentie of fish and Sea-birds. These Negroes were placed here by the Portugals to manure the Ile. Three yeeres past in which there hath no ships beene with them. *June.* *Fernando Loronha.*

The six and twentieth we departed from this Ile, the wind at East North-East, the last hereof we doubled Cape Saint Augustine. *August.*

The tenth we passed the Abrollos, which was the greatest of our feare (the sholds lye from the Coast of Brasill, farre off into the Sea, in one and twentie degrees and are dangerous. Whereupon our Baase, (for so a Dutch Captaine is called) chose a Master of Mis-rule by the name Kesar. Now the authoritie of Riot lay in this disordered Officer, who after Dinner could neither salute his friends, nor understand the Lawes of Reason. And those that ought to have beene most respective, were both lawlesse and witlesse. In this dissolute manner we wasted three dayes, which being ended, and having againe *September.* *Abrollos.*

recovered our former discretion, wee shaped our course [I. iii. 118.] for Cape Bona Esperanza, sayling towards the Court of Bacchus, unto whom this Idolatrous Sacrifice was made, as by the end appeareth.

November. Bay of Soldania. The eleventh we anchored in the Bay of Saldania, in thirtie foure degrees of the South Pole, ten leagues short of Cape Bona Esperanza, where there are three fresh Rivers. The people came to us with Oxen and Sheep in great plentie, which they sold for pieces of old Iron, and spike Nailes. The best of that we bought, cost not more then the value of one penie in old Iron. Their Cattell are large, and under severall markes, having upon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lumpe of flesh like a Camels backe. Their Sheepe have exceeding great tailes only of fat, weighing twelve or fourteene pounds: they have no wooll but a long shag haire. The people are not circumcised, their colour is Olive blacke, blacker then the Brasilians, their haire curled and blacke as the Negroes of Angola, their words are for the most part in-articulate, and in speaking they clocke with the Tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronounced together, verie strangely.

They goe all naked, having only a short Cloke of Skinnes and Sandals tyed to their feet, they paint their faces with divers colours, they are a strong active people, and runne exceedingly, and are subject to the King of Monomotapa, who is reported to be a mightie King, their weapons are only hard Darts. The Flemmings offering them some rude wrong, they absented themselves three dayes, in which time they made great fires upon the Mountaines in the Countrey. The nineteenth hereof there came great troups of them to us, bringing very much cattell with them, and in the time of bartering suddenly, taking their advantage they set upon us, and slue thirteene of our people with hand Darts, which at foure Pikes length could not offend. Notwithstanding the Flemmings fled before them like Mice before Cats, throwing away their weapons most basely. And our Baase, to save himselfe,

stayed aboord, and sent us Corslets, Two-hand-swords, Pikes, Muskets, and Targets, so we were armed and laden with weapons, but there was neither courage nor discretion. For we stayed by our Tents being belegred with Canibals and Cowes, we were in Muster, Giants, with great armed bodies, but in action Babes, with Wrens hearts. Hereupon Master Tomkins and my selfe undertooke to order these Fellowes, from that excellent methode, which we had seene in your Lordships most honourable Actions. Some consented to us, but the most part unwilling, and divers ranne to the Pottage Pot, for they swore it was dinner time. This night we went all aboord, only leaving our great Mastive Dogge behind us, who by no meanes would come to us. For I thinke he was ashamed of our Companie. *M. Tomkins Englishman.*

This land is a good soile, and an wholsome Aire, full of good herbes, as Mints, Calamint, Plantine, Ribwort, Trifolium, Scabious, and such like. The seven and twentieth wee set sayle, the last hereof we doubled Cape Bona Esperanza.

The sixt we doubled Cape das Agulios which is the most Southerly Promontorie of Africa, where the Compasse hath no variation. This Cape lyeth in thirtie five degrees of the South Pole. *December.*

1599. *January.* 1599.

THe sixt we fell with the Ile Madagascar, short of Cape Romano: we spent this moneth to double that Cape, not being able wee bore roome with the Bay Saint Augustine, which lyeth upon the South West part of Madagascar in three and twentie degrees fiftie minutes. *Madagascar. February. Bay of Saint Augustine.*

The third wee anchored in the same Bay, where wee saw many people upon the shore, but when we landed they fled from us: for the other Voyage our Baase was in this Bay, where hee greatly abused the people, and tooke one of them, bound him to a Post, and shot him to death, with other shamefull disorders. After seven dayes by much meanes that we made, some of them came to us,

and brought us Milke and one Cow which wee bought, and after would no more abide us. They are a strong, well-shaped people, and cole blacke, their Language sweete and pleasing: their weapons halfe-Pikes, headed with Iron as a Harpon, which they keepe very bright, they goe wholy naked.

The Countrey seemeth to be very fruitfull and hath great store of Tamaryn trees: we found Beanes growing upon a high tree, the Cods being two foot long, with answerable bignesse, and are very good meate, here are many Camelions. It was no small miserie that wee English indured especially in this Bay. But God the ever-living Commander was our only succour.

March. The eight wee came aboord Dog hungry and meatlesse, the fourteenth wee set saile from this place, which wee *Hungry Bay.* named Hungry Bay, shaping our course upon the North side of the Ile. The nine and twentieth we came with *Iles Comoro five.* the Ilands Comoro, lying betweene twelve and thirteene degrees, and are five Ilands, Mayotta, Ausuame, Magliaglie, Saint Christophero, Spirito Sancto. The thirtieth we anchored at Mayotta close by a Towne, where we found many people that seemed to rejoyce at our comming, they came aboord our shippes with presents of Victualls. The King sent to have our Chiefe come ashore, promising him kindnesse. So our Baase went, the King met him with many people, having three Drummes beating before him. He was richly apparelled so were his followers, with long silke Garments imbrodred, after the Turkish manner. The King having used us with such kindnesse as we required, wrote a Letter in our behalfe to the Queene of Ausuame, for there is no King.

[I. iii. 119.] The seventeenth we departed: the nineteenth we *Aprill. Ausuame.* anchored at Ausuame, before a City named Demos: which hath beene a strong place, as by the ruines appeare. Their houses are built with free hewed stone and lime, the walls of the Citie are most ruinated, that which remaineth is as bigge as Plimmoth. This Queene used us exceeding friendly; but she would not be seene. In these Islands

we had Rice, Oxen, Goats, Cocos, Bonanas, Oranges, Limons, and Citrons. The Inhabitants are Negroes, but smooth haired, in Religion Mahometists, their weapons are Swords, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. These Islands are pleasing in sight, and fruitfull in nature. Here we found Merchants of Arabia and India, but what Commodities the Islands yeeld, I could not learne. They desire Weapons and Yron; they greatly regard Paper. The eight and twentieth, wee departed, passing through the Islands Mascarenhas, by the sholds do Almirante.

May. The three and twentieth, we fell with the Islands of *Maldivia.* Maldivia, which are very low close by the water, wholly covered with Cocos trees, so that we saw the trees but not the shore. Here we anchored, and refreshed our selves: Many of the Countrey Boats passing by us, but none would come to us: whereupon our Baase sent out the ships boats to take one of them. The foure and twentieth, they brought a Boat aboord us covered with Mats, like a close Barge. In this Boat was a Gentleman and his Wife, he was apparelled in very fine white Linnen, after the Turkish manner. In his rings were rich stones, his behaviour was so sweete and affable, his countenance so modest, and his speech so gracefull, as that it made apparant shewe he could not be lesse then a Noble-man. He was unwilling to have his Wife seene: notwithstanding our Baase went with him into his Boat, to see her: he also opened her Casket, wherein were some Jewels and Ambergreese. He reported that she sate with mournefull modestie, not using one word: what was taken from them I knowe not; but in departing this Gentleman shewed a Princely spirit. His colour was blacke, with smooth haire, a man of middle stature. In these Islands there is great trade by reason of the Cocos: for they make Ropes, Cables, Sayles, Wine, Oyle, and a kind of bread of that tree, and his fruit. They report that there be 11000. of these Islands. The seven and twentieth wee set sayle: this morning there came an old man aboord us that spake a little Portugall, he was our Pilot through the Chanell,

for by chance we fell with the true passible Chanell named Maldivia, in latitude foure degrees, fifteene minutes of the North-pole, where the Compasse is varied seventeene degrees Westerly. In missing this Chanel it is a dangerous place. The trade of shipping through this Chanell is very great of divers Nations, from most places of India, as I hope in your Lordships presence at large to enforme your Honour.

June. The third we fell with the Coast of India, in eight degrees and forty minutes of Northerly latitude, neere about Cochin, and coasting this shore, we shaped our course East for Camorin, and from thence to the Island Sumatra. The thirteenth, we saw the coast of Sumatra, in five degrees forty minutes of Northerly latitude. The sixteenth, we spake with the people, staying at an Island by the shore to take in water. The one and twentieth we *Achin.* anchored in the Bay of Achin, in twelve fathome. Being here, the King sent his Officers to measure the length and breadth of our ships, to take the number of our Men and Ordnance, which they did. With those Officers, our Baase sent two of his people with Presents to the King, a Looking-glasse, a Drinking-glasse, and a Bracelet of Corall. The one and twentieth, our men came aboord, whome the King had apparelled after his Countrey manner, in white Calicut cloth: they brought newes of Peace, Welcome, and plenty of Spicery. We found foure Barks riding in the Bay, three of Arabia, and one of Pegu, that came to lade Pepper. Here was also a Portugall, named Don Alfonso Vincent, that came with foure Barkes from Malacca, to prevent our trade, as the sequell doth shew. The three and twentieth at mid-night, the King sent for our Baase, and sent a Noble man for his Hostage: hee went presently on shore, whom the King used very kindly, promising him free trade. He apparelled him after the Country manner, and gave him a Cryse of Honour: This Cryse is a kind of Dagger, whose haft and handle (for it hath no crosse nor hilt) is made of a kind of mettall, which the King esteemeth farre beyond Gold, and is set with

Rubies. This mettall hath a fine lustre: it is death to weare this Cryse, but from the Kings gift: and having it, there is absolute freedome to take Victualls without money, and to command the rest as slaves. The sixe and twentieth, our Baase came aboord with a Boat-load of Pepper; reporting words above credit, how the King had used him, of his mightie fortune, and of the wonderfull trade that he had procured, with no smal Gaudeamus in superbia nostra: he further said, that the King did often demand of him, if he were not of England, which he did strongly denie, using some unfit speeches of * our Nation. Further, said he, beeing aboord, I wish I had given a thousand pound that we had no English among us: thus we, poore soules, were thrust into the Corner. The seven and twentieth, our Merchants went on shore with their Merchandize, having an house by the Kings appointment.

**Englishmen abused by Hollanders.*

The twentieth, our Baase beeing with the King was exceeding well entertained, the King very importunate to know if he were English: Tell me truely, (said the King) for I love souldiers; and I must further tell you, Alfonso hath been earnest with me to betray you, but it shall not be; for I am your friend: and therewith gave him a Purse of Gold. He giving thankes, answered that he was not of England, but of Flanders, and at the Kings service. I have heard of *England, said the King, but not of Flanders: what Land is that? He further enquired of their King, State, and Government; whereof our Baase made large report, refusing the Authoritie of a King, relating the government of Aristocratie. He further made sute to the King, to give commandement that his subjects should not call him English: for it was a bitternes unto him: which the King granted. Againe, he required to know if there were no Englishmen in the ships: he answered, there be some English* in the ships, but they have been bred up in Flanders. I understand, said the King, that there be some that differ both in apparell, language, and fashion: what are those? he answered, English; of which my cheife Pilot is one. Well, said

July.

**England famous.*

[I. iii. 120.]

**Diverse Englishmen in this Voyage.*

the King, I must see those men. As touching your Merchandize it shall be thus: I have warres with the King of Jor (this Kingdome of Jor is the South-point of Malacca) you shall serve me against him with your ships: your recompence shall be your lading of Pepper; this was agreed. The twenty eighth, our Baase came aboord, accompanied with one of the Sabandars, the Secretary, Merchants of Mecka, Turks, Arabians, and Don Alfonso, with some Portugalls; all which departed passing drunke.

August. The King began to shew an altered countenance the twentieth hereof, saying to our Baase, Wherefore doth not that English Pilot come to me? (for he would not suffer me nor M. Tomkins to goe on shore) I thinke when you have your Pepper, you will runne away without doing me service, as you have promised: whereupon I was presently sent for. The one and twentieth, I came on shore. The two and twentieth, I went to the King early in the morning, who did use me very friendly. I stayed with him foure houres or better, banqueting and drinking. **Davis his entertainement with the King of Achin.* After an houre, he caused the Sabandar to stand up,* and bad me likewise stand up. The Sabandar tooke off my Hat, and put a Roll of white linnen about my head: then he put about my middle a white linnen cloth that came twice about me, hanging downe halfe my legge, imbroydered with Gold: then againe he tooke the Roll from my Head, laying it before the King, and put on a white garment upon me, and upon that againe one of red. Then putting on the Roll upon my Head, I sate downe in the Kings presence, who dranke to me in Aquavitæ and made me eate of many strange meates. All his service is in Gold, and some in fine Porcellane. Hee eateth upon the ground, without Table, Napkins, and other linnen. Hee enquired much of England, of the Queene, of her Basha's, and how she could hold warres with so great a King as the Spaniards? (for he thinketh that Europe is all Spanish.) In these his demands he was fully satisfied, as it seemed to his great good liking.

The three and twentieth, the Prince sent for me; I rid

to his Court upon an Elephant: hee used me exceeding well. Excessive eating and drinking was our entertainment. During the small time of my beeing on shore, I met with a very sensible Merchant of China, that spake Spanish, of whom I learned some things, which I hope will give your Lordship good contentment. Here are many of China that use trade, and have their particular Towne: so have the Portugals, the Gusarates, the Arabians, and those of Bengala and Pegu. Our Baase disliking that I so much frequented the Chinaes company, commanded me aboord. The next day having some sowre lookes of the King, he came aboord with a dull spirit.

September. The first hereof, the King made shew that we should receive in Ordnance for the battery of Jor, and take in souldiers to depart for that service. There were many Gallies manned, and brought out of the River, riding halfe a mile from our ships; the Sea full of Prawes and Boats all manned: there came aboord us the Secretary, named Corcoun, & the cheife Sabandar named Abdala, with many souldiers weaponed with Courtelasses, Handdarts, Cryses and Targets. They brought with them many kinds of meat, & a great Jar of Aquavitæ: herewith they made shew of friendship with banqueting. We mistrusting some treachery, filled our tops with stones, made fast our gratings, and prepared our weapons: whereat our Baase was exceeding angry, commanding all to be dissolved, but we would not. There is in this Countrey a kind of Seed, whereof a little beeing eaten, maketh a man to turne foole, all things seeming to him to be Metamorphosed; but above a certaine rate it is deadly poyson: with this all the meate and drinke which they brought was infected. In banqueting, the Sabandar and Secretarie sent for me, M. Tomkins keeping me company, and used some words to one of his company, but what I knowe not; in short time we were foole-frolicke, gaping one upon an other like Antiques, our Baase beeing prisoner, and knewe it not. Suddenly when a token was given from the other Ship (for there the like treachery

A strang seed, and strange treachery.

was used by the Secretary, who went from our ship thither to act the same) they set upon us, murthered our Baase, and slew divers others, M. Tomkins, my selfe, and a French-man, defended the Poope, which if they had recovered, our ship had been lost: for they had the Cabin, and some were below among the Ordnance, by creeping in at the Ports. The Master of our ship which they call Captaine, leapt into the Sea, so did divers others; but recovered the ship againe, and came aboord when all was done. In the end we put them to flight, (for our tops plagued them sore) which when I saw, I leapt from the Poope to pursue them. M. Tomkins leaping after me, there came a Turke out of the Cabin, and wounded him grievously, they lay together tombling each for his life: which seeing, I ranne the Turke in with my Rapier; and our shipper presently with a halfe Pike thrust him downe the throat into the body. In the other ship all the cheifest were murdered, and the shippe taken; we cut our Cables, and drave to her, and with our shot made the Indians flie: so we recovered the ship: the Gallies [I. iii. 121.] durst not come neere us. In this great miserie it was some pleasure, to see how the base Indians did flye, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned. The Sea was covered with Indian heads: for they swamme away by hundreds, The Sabandare Abdala, and one of the Kings neere Kinsmen were slaine, with many others; and the Secretarie hurt. The King being by the Sea-side with many people, when the newes came of the Sabandars death and their great overthrow, the furious Infidels murdred all our men a shore, only eight excepted, whom the King fettered for Slaves. We lost in this misfortune threescore and eight persons, of which we are not certaine how many are captived: only of eight wee have knowledge. Wee lost two fine Pinnasses of twentie tunnes a piece, and our ship Boate.

This day we departed and anchored before the Citie Pider, where we had sent a Pinnasse for Rice, hoping to have newes of her, but had not. The second there came

eleven Gallies with Portugals (as we thought) to take our ships. Wee sunke one and beat the rest: so they fledde. This after-noone came aboord us the sonne of Lafort a French Marchant dwelling in Seething-Lane, who was one of the eight Prisoners, with this Message from the King. Shame you not to be such drunken beasts, as in drunkennesse to murder my people, whom I sent to you in kindnesse. Therefore he required our best ship for satisfaction, and for the reliefe of our men. Doe this said he to Lafort, and I will make you a great Nobleman, but wee would not, and being distressed of water, departed to the Ilands Pulo Botum upon the Coast of Quedia in six degrees fifty minutes, where we refreshed and watered.

During the time of our abode in Achien, we received into both our ships a hundred and fortie tuns of Pepper, what stones or other Marchandize I know not. But at the day of Treason our Marchants lost all the Money and Marchandize a shore, which they report to bee of great value, and many young Adventurers were utterly ruinated: among which I doe most grieve at the losse of poore John Davis, who did not only lose my friendly Factor, but also all my Europe Commodities, with those things which I had provided to shew my dutie and love to my best Friends.

So I may conclude, that although India did not receive mee very rich, yet she hath sent mee away reasonable poore.

The Ile Sumatra is a pleasing and fertile Soyle, abounding with many rare and excellent Fruites, of Graine they have only Rice which is their Bread. They plowe the ground with Buffs, of which there are great plentie, but with small skill and lesse diligence. The Rice groweth in all respects as our Barley. *Rice.*

Of Pepper they have exceeding plentie, Gardens of a mile square, it groweth like Hops from a planted Root, and windeth about a stake set by it untill it grow to a great bushie Tree. The Pepper hangeth in small clusters, three inches long, and an inch about, each cluster having *Pepper.*

fortie Pepper Cornes, it yeeldeth increase equall with Mustard Seed. They bee able to lade twentie ships yearly; and more might, if the people were industrious and laboursome. The whole Countrey seemeth to be a Garden of pleasure. The Ayre is temperate and wholsome, having everie morning a fruitfull dew, or small raine. The Haven that goeth to the Citie of Achien is small, having but six foot at the barre. And there standeth a Fort made of stone, round without covering, battlements, or flankers, low walled like a Pownd, a worse cannot bee conceived. Before this Fort is a very pleasant Road for ships, the wind still comming from the shore, a shippe may ride a mile off in eighteene fathomes, close by in foure and sixe fathomes. Of Beasts, heere are Elephants, Horses, Buffes, Oxen and Goates, with many wild Hogs.

Mines of Gold and other commodities. The Land hath plentie of Gold and Copper Mines, divers kinds of Gummes, Balmes, and many kinds of Drugges, and much Indico. Of stones there are Rubies, Saphires, and Garnets: but I know not that they grow there. They have passing good Timber for shipping.

Achien Citie. The Citie of Achien, if it may be so called, is very spacious, built in a Wood, so that wee could not see a house till we were upon it. Neither could wee goe into any place, but wee found houses, and great concourse of people: so that I thinke the Towne spreadeth over the whole land. Their houses are built eight foote or better from the ground upon posts of wood, with free passage under, the wals and covering of Mats, the poorest and weakest things in the World. I saw three great Market places, which are every day frequented as Faires with all kindes of Marchandize to sell.

Sultan Aladin. The King is called Sultan Aladin, and is an hundred yeares old, as they say, yet hee is a lustie man, but exceeding grosse and fat. In the beginning of his life he was a fisher-man: (of which this place hath very many; for they live most upon fish:) and going to the Warres with the former King shewed himselfe so valiant and discreet

in ordering the Kings Gallies, that gaining the Kings favour, he was made Admirall of his Sea-forces and by his valour and discretion the King so imbraced him that he gave him to Wife one of his neerest Kinswomen. The King having one only Daughter, married her to the King of Jor, by whom shee had a sonne: this Childe was sent to Achien to bee nourished under his Grand-father, being Heire to the Kingdome: The King that now is, was now [I. iii. 122.] chiefe Commander both by Land and Sea. The olde King suddenly dyed, this King tooke the protection of the Childe, against which the Nobilitie resisted, but he having the Kings force and taking oportunitie, ended the lives of more then a thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen: and of the rascall people made new Lords and new Lawes. In fine, the Childe was murthered, and then he proclaymed himselfe King by the right of his Wife. Hereupon arose great Warre betweene him and the King of Jor, which continueth to this day. These twentie yeares he hath by force held the Kingdome, and now seemeth to bee secure in the same.

His Court is from the Citie halfe a mile upon the River, having three Guards before any can come to him, and a great Greene betweene each Guard, his house is built as the rest are, but much higher, hee sitteth where hee can see all that come to any of his Guards, but none can see him. The wals and covering of his house are Mats, which sometime is hanged with cloth of Gold, sometime with Velvet, and sometime with Damaske. Hee sitteth upon the ground crosse-legged like a Taylor, and so must all those doe that be in his presence. He alwayes weareth foure Cresis, two before and two behind, exceeding rich with Diamonds and Rubies; and hath a Sword lying upon his lap. He hath attending upon him fortie women at the least, some with Fannes to coole him, some with Clothes to dry his sweat, some give him Aqua vitæ, others water: the rest sing pleasant Songs. He doth nothing all the day but eate and drinke, from morning to night there is no end of banquetting: and when his belly is

readie to breake, then hee eateth Arecca Betula, which is a fruit like a Nutmeg, wrapped in a kind of leafe like Tabacco, with sharpe chalke made of Pearle Oyster-shels: chawing this it maketh the spittle very red, draweth the Rhume exceedingly, and procureth a mightie stomacke: this maketh the teeth very blacke, and they be the bravest that have the blackest teeth. By this meanes getting againe his stomacke, he goeth with a fresh courage to eating. And for a Change with a Cracking Gorge, hee goeth into the River, where he hath a place made of purpose, there getting a stomacke by being in the water. Hee, his great men and women doe nothing but eate, drinke, and talke of Venerie. If the Poets Fables have any shew of truth, then undoubtedly this King is the great Bacchus. For he holdeth all the Ceremonies of Gluttonie.

As in all places of Europe, the Custome is by uncovering the head to shew reverence, in this place it is wholly contrary. For before any man can come to the Kings presence, he must put of his hose and shooes, and come before him bare-legged, and bare-footed, holding the palmes of the hands together, and heaving them up above his head, bowing with the bodie must say, Doulat: which done dutie is discharged. And so hee sitteth downe crosse-legged in the Kings presence. Hee doth onely spend the time in eating with women, and Cock-fighting. And such as is the King, such are his Subjects; for the whole Land is given to no other contentment.

His State is governed by five principall men, with their inferiour Officers, his Secretarie, and foure called Sabandars, with these resteth all authoritie. The Kings will is their Law. For it seemeth there is no Free-man in the Land: for the life and goods of all is at the Kings pleasure. Hee will make no Offenders happie by death, but cutteth off their hands and feete, and banisheth them to an Ile named Polo-wey. If he put any to death, the Elephants teare him to pieces, or they drive a stake into his fundament, and so he dyeth. There are Gaoles and many fettered Prisoners that goe about the Towne.

His women are his chiefest Counsellers, hee hath three Wives, and very many Concubines, which are very closely kept.

Hee hath very many Gallies, I thinke an hundred, some that will carrie foure hundred men, made like a Wherrie, very long and open, without Decke, Fore-castell, Chase, or any upper building. Their Oares are like Shovels of foure foote long, which they use only with the hand not resting them upon the Galley. They beare no Ordnance, with these hee keepeth his Neighbours in obedience. A woman is his Admirall, for hee will trust no men. Their Weapons are Bowes, Arrowes, Javelings, Swords, Targets, they have no defensive Armes, but fight naked.

Hee hath great store of Brasse Ordnance, which they use without Carriages, shooting them as they lye upon the ground. They be the greatest that I have ever seene, and the Mettall is reported to be rich of Gold. The trust of his land force standeth upon his Elephants.

These people boast themselves to come of Ismael and Hagar, and can reckon the Genealogie of the Bible perfectly. In Religion they are Mahometists, and pray with Beades as the Papists doe. They bring up their Children in Learning, and have many Schooles. They have an Archbishop and Spirituall Dignities. Here is a Prophet in Achien, whom they greatly honour, they say that hee hath the spirit of Prophesie, as the Ancients have had. He is disguised from the rest in his Apparell, and greatly imbraced of the King.

The people are generally very cunning Merchants, and wholy dedicated thereunto. Of Mechanicall Artesmen, they have Gold-smithes, Gun-founders, Ship-wrights, Taylors, Wevers, Hatters, Pot-makers, and Aquavitæ [I. iii. 123.] Stillers, which is made of Rice (for they must drinke no Wine) Cutlers, and Smithes.

As touching their Burials, every Generation or Kinred have their particular place to burie their dead; which is in the Fields. They lay the Corps with the head towards Mecha, having a free Stone at the head, and another at

the feete curiously wrought, thereby signifying the worthinesse of the person.

But in the place of the Kings Burials every grave hath a piece of Gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing at the least five hundred pound weight, cunningly imbossed and wrought. This King hath two such Peeces in making and almost finished, which wee saw, that are a thousand pound weight a piece, and shall bee richly set with stones. I did greatly desire to see the Kings Burialls, because of the great wealth therein; but could not. I doe almost beleeve it to be true, because this King hath made two such costly monuments.

The people that trade in this place are of China, Bengala, Pegu, Java, Coromandel, Gusarate, Arabia, and Rumos. Rumos is in the Red Sea, and is the place from whence Salomon sent his ships to Ophir for Gold, which is now called Achien, as by tradition they doe affirme. And the Rumos people from Salomons time to this day have followed the same trade.

The Turkes are called Rumos in the Indies. The reason of that name is their Metropolitan and Imperiall Citie Constantinople called New Rome: of which Rome they call them Rumos. Their tradition of Ophir is rather to be marked then this Etymologie and conceit of Rumos in the Red Sea.

They have divers termes of payment, as Cashes, Mas, Cowpan, Pardaw, Tayell; I only saw two pieces of Coine, the one of Gold, the other of Lead, that Gold is of the bignesse of a penny, it is as common as pence in England and is named Mas, the other is like a little leaden Token: such as the Vintners of London use called Caxas. A thousand sixe hundred Cashes make one Mas. Foure hundred Cashes make a Cowpan. Foure Cowpans are one Mas. Five Masses make foure shillings sterling. Foure Masses makes a Perdaw. Foure Perdawes makes a Tayel, so a Mas is nine pence $\frac{8}{9}$. of a Pennie.

They sell their Pepper by the Bhar, which is three hundred and threescore of our pounds, for three pound foure shillings, their pound they call a Catt, which is one and twentie of our ounces. Their ounce is bigger then ours by so much as sixteene is bigger then ten.

The weight by which they sell Precious Stones is called Masse, 10.$\frac{3}{4}$. whereof make an ounce.

Once every yeare they have a custome that the King

with all his Noblemen and whole pompe of his land must goe to the Church to looke if the Messias bee come, which happened at our being here. There were many Elephants, I thinke fortie, very richly covered with Silke, Velvet, and cloth of Gold: divers Noblemen riding upon each Elephant, but one Elephant above the rest was exceeding richly covered, having a golden little Castle upon his backe, this was led spare for the *Messias to ride in. The King riding alone likewise in a little Castle, so they proceede with a very solemne procession; some had Targets of pure massie Gold, others great halfe Moones of Gold, with Stremers, Banners, Ensignes, Drummes, and Trumpets with other Musicke, very pleasing to see. Comming to the Church with great Solemnitie, they at length looked in, and not finding the Messias, used some Ceremonies. Then the King comming from his owne Elephant, roade home upon the Elephant prepared for the Messias: where they end the day with feasting and all pleasing sports.

*The promised returne of Mahomet expected.

The Ile is divided into foure Kingdomes, Achien, Pider, Manancabo, and Aru. Achien is the chiefest, the rest are tributarie to him. Aru holdeth with the King of Jor, and refuseth subjection. I have only hard of five principall Cities to be in this Ile. Achien, Pider, Pacem, Daia, Manancabo.

Returning to our proceedings after the slaughter of Achien, seeking reliefe, the tenth hereof we anchored at the lands Pulo Lotum, in sixe degrees fiftie minutes, by the Kingdome of Queda: where we watred and refreshed. There were in our ship three Letters close sealed, superscribed A. B. C. Which upon the death of our Baase were to be opened. By A. one Thomas Quimans was appointed our Chiefe, who was slaine at Achien. Then B. was opened, whereby Guyan Lafort who escaped Captivitie by being the Kings Messenger, was appointed our Chiefe, whom we so received. The letter C. was not opened. The last hereof wee set sayle our course againe for Achien, with hope by some meanes to recover our men.

*September.

October. The sixth we came in sight of Achien, the twelfth wee came into the Bay, where wee found ten Gallies set out against us. Wee came up with one of them, and gave her divers shot, but in a calme under the land she escaped. The rest durst not come neere us: for they are very Cowards, proud and base.

The eighteene hereof wee shaped our course for the Citie Tanassarin, for it is a place of great trade, the five and twentieth we anchored among the Ilands in the Bay in eleven degrees, twentie minutes, of the Pole Articke. Being here we were very much crossed with bad winds, so that wee could not recover the Citie, for it standeth twentie leagues within the Bay: being in verie great distresse of victuals we departed hence, shaping our course for the Ilands Nicobar, hoping there to find reliefe.

November. Nicobar. The twelfth we anchored at the Ilands Nicobar in eight degrees of North latitude where the people brought us great store of Hens, Oranges, Limons, and other Fruit, [I. iii. 124.] and some Ambergreece, which we bought for pieces of linen-cloth, and Table Napkins. These Iles are pleasant and fruitfull, low land, and have good road for ships. The people are most base, only living upon fruites, and fish, not manuring the ground, and therefore have no Rice. The sixteenth wee departed shaping our course for the Ile Zeilon: for wee were in great distresse, especially of Rice.

December. The sixt by Gods great goodnesse we tooke a ship of Negapatan, which is a Citie in the Coast of Coromandell, shee was laden with Rise bound to Achien. There were in her threescore persons, of Achien, of Java, of Zeilon, of Pegu, Narsinga, and Coromandel. By these people **Matecalou in Zeilan a Citie of great trade.* wee learned that in Zeilan there is a Citie named *Matecalou, a place of great Trade, and that there wee might load our ships with Sinamon, Pepper and Cloves. They also said that in Zeilon were great store of precious stones and Pearles: that the Countrey doth abound with all kind of Victuals, and that the King is an exceeding Enemie to the Portugals; they also told us of a Citie named Trin-

quanamale, where was the like Trade. So they promised to lade our ships, and royally to victuall us, for little money. Hereupon we laboured by all possible meanes to recover the said places, but could not, for the wind was exceeding contrary. Then these Indians told us that if we would stay untill January, we should have more then a hundred ships come close by that shore laden with Spicerie, Linnen-cloth, and China Commodities; besides stones and other wealth. To stay there as a man of Warre our Governour would not agree: but to stay and in taking any thing to pay for the same he was content, for so was his Commission; to this the Companie would not agree. Whereupon the eight and twentieth hereof we shaped our course homeward, having beaten sixteene dayes upon this Coast to recover Matecalon. We discharged our Prise the eighteenth hereof, having taken the best part of her Rice, for which our Chiefe payed them to their content. But the Companie tooke away the Money and Merchandize from the Indians with much disorder: we tooke with us twelve of the Indians of severall places: who after we could a little understand them, told us that the Marchants had great store of precious stones in the ship, which they had hid under the Timbers. Of what truth that report is I know not. They would not suffer Master Tomkins nor me to goe aboord the Prise: for what reasons I know not.

Prise discharged.

1600.

THe fift hereof our meate was poysoned, but God preserved us, for one tasting the same by chance or greedinesse (for it was fresh fish) was presently infected: before the meate came to us it was strongly poysoned, for our Surgeon tooke almost a spoonfull of Poyson out of one fish, but this is not the first time, if the grieved would complaine. The tenth wee fell with Cape Bona Esperanza, where wee had a great storme: the sixe and twentieth wee doubled the same.

March 1600.

The thirteenth we anchored at the Ile Saint *Helena,

Aprill.

**S. Helena.*

which is rockie and mountanous, lying in sixteene degrees of South latitude, here wee found good water, figs, and fish in plentie: there be Goats, but hard to get. The fifteenth at Sun-set there came a Caravell into the Road, who anchored a large Musket-shot to wind-ward of us. She was utterly unprovided, not having one Peece mounted: we fought with her all this night, and gave her, as I thinke, better then two hundred shot. In eight houres shee never made shot nor shew of regard, by midnight shee had placed sixe Peeces which she used very well, shot us often through, and slew two of our men. So the sixteenth in the morning we departed, having many sick men shaping our course for the Ile *Ascention, where we hope to have reliefe. This three and twentieth we had sight of Ascention, in eight degrees of South latitude, this Ile hath neither wood, water, nor any greene thing upon it, but is a fruitlesse greene Rocke of five leagues broad. The foure and twentieth at midnight wee agreed to goe for the Ile Fernando Loronio, where wee are acquainted and know that there is reliefe sufficient. For at this Ile wee stayed ten weekes outward bound, when we could not double Cape Saint Augustine.

**Il. Ascention.*

May. The sixt we arived at the Ile Fernando Loronio, where wee stayed sixe dayes to water and refresh our selves. The thirteenth we departed, shaping our course for England.

July. The nine and twentieth of July we arrived at Middleborough.

[I. iii. 125.]

§. V.

William Adams his Voyage by the Magellan Straights to *Japon, written in two Letters by himselfe, as followeth.

**This Voyage, though not by the Cape of Good Hope, yet because it was to Japon, I here deliver. See before, pag. 78.*

HAving so good occasion, by hearing that certaine English Marchants lye in the Island of Java, although by name unknowne, I presumed to write these few lines, desiring the Worshipfull Companie being unknowne to me, to pardon my boldnes. The reason that

I write, is first, for that conscience bindeth me to love my Country, & my Countrymen. Your Worships therefore shall understand, to whom these presents shall come, that I am a Kentish-man, borne in a Towne called Gillingam, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chattam, where the Kings ships lye: and that from the age of twelve yeares, I was brought up in Lime-house neere London, being Prentise twelve yeares to one Master Nicholas Diggines, and have served in the place of Master and Pilot in her Majesties ships, and about eleven or twelve yeares served the Worshipfull Company of the Barbarie Marchants, untill the Indian Trafficke from Holland began, in which Indian Trafficke I was desirous to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God had given me. So, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1598. I was hired for chiefe Pilot of a Fleete of five sayle, which was made readie by the chiefe of the Indian Company Peter Vanderhag, and Hance Vanderueke: the Generall of this Fleet, was a Marchant called Jaques Mayhay, in which ship, being Admirall, I was Pilot. So, it being the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of June before we set sayle,* it was somewhat too late ere we came to the Line, to passe it without contrarie winds: for it was about the midst of September, at which time we found much Southerly winds, and many of our men were sick, so that we were forced to goe to the Coast of Gynny to Cape de Lopo Gonsalves, where wee set our sicke men a land, whereof many dyed: and of the sicknesse, few bettered, having little or no refreshing, and the place being unhealthy. Therefore, to fulfill our Voyage, wee set our course for the Coast of Brasill, determining to passe the Straights of Magellan, and by the way came to an Island called Illha da Nobon, at which Iland we landed, and tooke the Towne, which contained about eightie houses, in which Iland we refreshed our selves, having Oxen, Oranges, and divers other fruits. But the unwholsomenesse of the Aire was such, that as one bettered, another fell sicke: we spent upon the Coast of the Cape Gonsalves,

* *Adams chiefe Pilot of a fleete of five sayles.*

Cape de Lopo Gonsalves.

The Isle of Nabon taken.

and of Annobon about two moneths time till the twelfth or thirteenth of November. At which time, wee set sayle from Annobon, finding the winds still at the South by East, and South South-East, till wee got foure degrees by South the Line: at which time the windes favoured us comming to the South-East, and East South-East, and East, so that we were up betweene the Iland of Annobon, and the Straights of Magellan, about five monethes. One of our five sayle spent her maine Mast, by which we were much hindred; for with much travell we set a new Mast in the Sea. Then, the nine and twentieth of March, we saw the Land in the latitude of fiftie degrees, having the wind two or three daies contrary: so, in the end, having the winds good, we came into the Straights of Magellan, the sixt of Aprill, 1599. at which time, the Winter came, so that there was much Snow: and our men, through cold on the one side, and hunger on the other, grew weake: wee had the wind at North-East, some five or six dayes, in which time wee might have passed through the Straights. But, for refreshing of our men, we waited, watering and taking in of wood, and setting up of a Pinnace of fifteene or sixteene tunnes in bignesse. At length, wee would have passed through but could not by reason of the Southerly winds, with wet, and also very cold, with abundance of Snow and Ice. Wherefore, we were forced to winter and stay in the Straights from the sixt of Aprill, untill the foure and twentieth of September, in which time the most part of our provision was spent, in so much that for lacke of victuals many of our men dyed through hunger. Now, having passed through the Straights, and comming into the South Sea, wee found many hard streames, being driven to the South-wards in fiftie foure degrees, being then very cold. At length we found reasonable winds and weather, with which wee followed our pretended Voyage towards the Coast of Peru: but in long travels we lost our whole Fleet, being separated the one from the other. Yet before the dispersing of our Fleet, wee had appointed, if wee lost one another with stormes

April. 6, 1599.

They wintered in the Straights of Magellan.

Many of their men dyed for want of food.

and foule weather, that in Chili in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees, wee should stay one for another the space of thirtie dayes. In which heighth according to agreement, I went in sixe and fortie degrees, and stayed eight and twentie dayes where we refreshed our selves, finding the people of the Countrey good of nature: but by reason of the Spaniards, they would not have dealt with us at the first. They brought us Sheepe and Potatoes, for which we gave them Bels and Knives, whereof they were very glad: but in the end, the people went up from their houses into the Countrey, and came no more unto us. Wee stayed there eight and twentie dayes, and set up a Pinnasse which we had in our ship, in foure parts, and in the end departed and came to the mouth of Baldivia, yet by reason it blew much wind we entred not, but directed our course out of the Bay, for the Iland of Mocha, unto the which wee came the next day, finding none of our Fleet. So not finding them, wee directed our course for the Island of Sancta Maria, and the next day we came by the Cape, which is a league and an halfe from the Island, and seeing many people tossed about the Cape, and finding good ground, anchored in fifteene fathom in a faire sandie Bay.

They stay in fortie sixe degrees, and refresh themselves.

The mouth of Baldivia.

The Isle of Mocha.

[I. iii. 126.]

We went with our boats hard by the water side, to parlee with the people of the land, but they would not suffer us to come a land, shooting great store of Arrowes at our men. Neverthelesse, having no victualls in our Ship, and hoping to find refreshing, wee forcibly landed some seven and twentie or thirtie of our men, and drove the wild people from the water side, having most of our men hurt with their Arrowes. They being on land, we made signes of friendship, and in the end came to parlee with signes and tokens of friendship, which the people understood. So, wee made signes, that our desire was to have victualls for Iron, Silver and Cloth, which we shewed them. Wherefore they gave our folke Wine, with Batatas to eate, and other fruits, and bid our men by signes and tokens to goe aboord, and the next day to come againe,

A faire sandie Bay.

and then they would bring us victualls: so, being late our men came aboord, the most part of them being hurt more or lesse, and yet we were very glad that we had come to a parlee with them, hoping that we should get refreshing. The next day, being the ninth of November, 1599. our Captaine, with all our Officers prepared to goe a land, having taken counsell to goe to the water side, but not to land more then two or three men: for there were people in abundance, and were also unknowne; our men therefore were willed not to trust them. This counsell being concluded, the Captain himselfe went in one of our Boats, with all the force that we had: and being by the shore side, the people of the countrie made signes that they should come a land; but that did not like our Captaine well. In the end the people comming not neere unto our Boats, our Captaine, with the rest resolved to land, against that which was concluded in our Ship, before the going on land. At length three and twentie men landed with Muskets, and marched up towards foure or five houses, and when they were about a Musket-shot from the Boates, more then a thousand Indians who lay intrenched, immediately fell upon our men with such weapons as they had, and killed them all to our knowledge. So our Boats waited long to see if any of them would come againe; but seeing no hope to recover them, our Boates returned with this sorrowfull newes, that all our men that landed were slaine, which was a lamentable thing to heare: for we had scarce so many men left as could winde up our Anchor. The next day wee waited, and went over to the Island Sancta Maria, where we found our Admiral, who had arrived there foure daies before us, and departed to the Isle from Mucha the day before we came from thence, having the Generall, Master, and all his Officers wounded on land: and God had so plagued us, that all our Officers were slaine, so that the one of us bemoned the other. Neverthelesse being glad that we were come together, my good friend Timothy Shotten was Pilot in that Ship. Being at the Island of Sancta Maria,

The ninth of November, 1599.

Twentie three men slaine.

The Isle of Sancta Maria.

Timothy Shotten of London, Pilot of the Admirall.

which lieth in the Latitude of thirtie seven degrees, twelve minutes by South the Line on the Coast of Chili, wee tooke counsell to take all things out of one Ship, and to burne the other: but the new Captaines could not agree, which of the Ships they should burne, and so could not conclude it. Having much cloth in our Ships, it was agreed that wee should leave the Coast of Peru, and direct our course for Japan, understanding that cloth was good marchandise there: and also upon that Coast of Peru, the Kings Ships having knowledge of our being there, sought for us, understanding that wee were weake by reason of the losse of our men, which was all too true: for one of our Fleet, as wee understood afterward, was forced to yeeld themselves into the enemies hand in Saint Iago. For which reason, having refreshed our selves in the Island Sancta Maria, more by policie then by force, we departed the twentie seven of November, from the Road, or Island of Sancta Maria, with our two Ships, and for the rest of our Fleete we heard no newes of them. So we tooke our course directly for Japan, and passed the Line Equinoctiall together, untill we came in twentie eight degrees to the North-ward of the Line: in which Latitude, the twentie second & twentie third of February 1600. we had a wonderfull storme of wind, as ever I was in, with much raine, in which storme wee lost sight of our greatest ship, whereof we were very sorry being left alone; yet wee hoped in Japan to find one another. Then according to wind and weather, we followed our former intention for Japan, and in the height of thirtie degrees, sought the North Cape of the forenamed Island, but found it not, by reason that it lieth false in all Chartes, and Globes, and Maps: for the Cape lyeth in thirtie five degrees ½. which is a great difference. In the end wee came in thirtie two degrees ½. and then had sight of the Land, being the nineteenth of Aprill, so that betweene the Cape of Sancta Maria and Japan, we were foure moneths, and twentie two dayes: at which time there were no more then sixe besides my selfe, that could stand upon their feet. Now

Cloth good merchandise in Japan.

One of their Fleete yeelded to the Spaniard at Saint Iago in thirtie three degrees. See before in the Voyage of Oliver Noort.

They take their course for Japan, from the Road of the Isle of Sancta Maria, November 27.

The North part of Japan, lieth in 35. degrees, ½.

They were foure months, & twentie two dayes between the Isle of Sancta Maria. and Japan.

being in safetie, we let our Anchor fall about a league from a place, called Bungo. At which time many Boats came unto us, and we let them come aboord, being not able to resist them: yet the people did us no harme, we not understanding each other, but by signes and tokens. After two or three dayes space, a Jesuite came unto us from a place called Langasacke, to which place the Carake of Macao is yeerely wont to come, which with other Japoners, that were Christians, were our Interpreters; which was ill for us, they being our mortal enemies. Nevertheless the King of Bungo, the place where we arrived, did us great friendship. For he gave us an house on shore for our sicke men, having all refreshing that was needfull. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo foure and twentie men, sicke and whole, of which number the next day three dyed, the rest for the most part recovered, saving three which lay long time sicke, and in the end also died. The Emperour hearing of us, sent presently five Gallies or Frigots unto us, to bring mee to the Court, where his Majestie was, which was distant from Bungo, about eightie English leagues. Now, when I came before him, he demanded of me, of what Countrey we were; so I answered him in all points: for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning warre, and peace betweene Countrey and Countrey; the particulars whereof were too long to write. After this conference, I was commanded to prison being well used, with one of our Mariners, that came with me to serve me.

Bungo.

[I. iii. 127.]

Sixe of their men died.

This was at the citie of Osaca, which is eighty leagues from Bungo.

He was called the second time.

Some two dayes after, the Emperour called me againe, demanding the reason of our comming so farre: I answered, We were a People that sought all friendship with all Nations and to have trade of Merchandize in all Countries, bringing such Merchandizes as our Country had, and buying such Merchandizes in strange Countryes, as our Countrey desired; through which our Countryes on both side were inriched. He asked much concerning the warres betweene the Spaniards and Portugals, and us, and the reasons: the particulars of all which I gave him to

understand, who seemed to be very glad to heare it. After this, I was commanded to prison againe, but my lodging was bettered in an other place. So, I continued nine and thirty dayes in prison, hearing no more newes, neither of our ship, nor Captaine, whether he were recovered of his sickenesse, nor of the rest of the company: in which time, I looked every day to be Crossed, as the custome of Justice is in Japan, as hanging is in our Land. Now in this long time of imprisonment, the Jesuites and the Portugals gave many evidences to the Emperour against us, alleadging that wee were theeves and robbers of all Nations and if we were suffered to live, it should be against the profit of his Majestie, and the Land: for then no Nation could come there without robbing: but if Justice were executed on us, it would terrifie the rest of our Nation from comming there any more. And to this intent they sued to his Majestie daily to cut us off, making all the Friends they could to this purpose. But God was mercifull unto us, and would not suffer them to have their wills of us. At length, the Emperour gave them this answer, That as yet wee had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his Land; and therefore that it was against reason and Justice to put us to death: and if our Countreys and theirs had warres one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death. The Emperour answering them in this manner, they were quite out of heart, that their cruell pretence failed: for the which, God be praised for ever and ever. Now in this time that I was in prison, the ship was commanded to bee brought so neere to the Citie where the Emperour was, as she might, the which was done. So the one and fortieth day of my imprisonment, the Emperour called me before him againe, demanding of mee many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion, he asked me whether I were desirous to goe to the ship to see my Countrey-men: I answered, that I would very gladly do it: so he bade me goe. Then I departed, and was freed from imprisonment. And this

Thus farre goeth his first letter to his wife.

Crucifying the usuall punishment of Malefactors in Japan.

The Jesuites & Portugals accusations.

The Emperors answer.

He was called the third time before the Emperour.

The ship was brought to the City of Sacay.

was the first newes that I had, that the ship and company were come to the Citie. Wherefore, with a rejoycing heart I tooke a Boat, and went to our ship, where I found the Captaine and the rest, recovered of their sickenesse. But at our meeting aboord, we saluted one another with mourning and sheadding of teares: for they were informed that I was executed, and long since dead. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left alive, came together againe. All things were taken out of the ship, together with all my instruments, &c. and I had nothing left me, but my clothes on my backe: likewise whatsoever the rest of the company had, was also taken away, unknowne to the Emperour: which when he understood, he gave order that they should be restored to us againe. But being so dispersed abroad, they could not be had: yet fiftie thousand Rials in ready money, were commanded to be given us, the Emperour himselfe seeing the delivery thereof to the hands of one that was made our Governour, who kept them in his hands to distribute them unto us as wee had neede, for the buying of Victualls for our men, with other particular charges, &c. So in the end of thirtie dayes, our ship lying before the City called Sakay, three leagues, or two leagues ½ from Ozaca, where the Emperour at that time lay, commandement came from the Emperour, that our ship should be carried to the Easter part of the land, called Quanto, whither according to his commandement we were carried, the distance beeing about an hundred and twenty leagues. Our passage thither was long by reason of contrary windes, so that the Emperour was there long before us. Comming to the land of Quanto, and neere to the Citie Eddo, where the Emperour was: beeing arrived, we sought all meanes by supplications to get our ship cleare, and to seeke our best profit, to come where the Hollanders have their trade: in which suit we spent much of the mony given us. Also, in this time, three or foure of our men rebelled against the Captaine, and me, and made a mutinie with the rest of our men, so that we had much trouble with them. For they would not abide me

Fiftie thousand Ryals in ready money were given unto them.

The Citie Sakay.

Quanto.

Eddo about 120. leagues from Sacai.

any longer in the ship, but every one would be a Commander: and they would every one have their parts of the money that was given by the Emperour. It would bee too tedious to write the particulars of all that passed herein. Therefore for quietnesse sake, wee divided the [I. iii. 128.] money to every one as his place was: and this was after we had beene two yeeres in Japan. After which time, when we had received a deniall, that we should not have our ship, but must abide in Japan, our companie having their parts of the money, dispersed themselves everie one where he thought best. In the end, the Emperour gave every man (to live upon) two pounds Rice a day, and yeerely so much as was worth eleven or twelve Ducats a yeare: my selfe, the Captaine, and Mariners all alike. So in processe of foure or five yeeres the Emperour called me, and as he had done divers times before, so one time he would have me to make him a small ship: I answered that I was no Carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof: Well, doe it so well as you can, saith he, if it be not good, it is no matter. Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burthen of eightie tunnes, or there abouts: which ship being made in all proportions as our manner is, he comming aboord to see it, liked it very well; by which meanes I came in more favour with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yeerely revenew to live upon, much about seventie Ducats by the yeere, with two pounds of Rice a day also. Now beeing in such grace and favour, by reason I learned him some points of Geometry, and the Mathematickes, with other things: I pleased him so, that what I said could not be contradicted. At which my former enemies, Jesuites and Portugals, did greatly wonder, and intreated me to befriend them to the Emperour in their business: and so by my meanes, both Spaniards and Portugals have received friendship from the Emperour; I recompencing their evill unto me with good. So, to passe my time to get my living, it hath cost mee great labour and

He builded a ship of 80. *tuns for the Emperour.*

The Emperour bestoweth a yeerely revenew on him of 70. *Ducats, and two pounds of Rice a day.*

travell at the first; but God hath blessed my labours.

In the ende of five yeeres, I made supplication to the King to goe out of this Land, desiring to see my poore Wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request, the Emperour was not well pleased, and would not let me goe any more for my Countrey, but that I must continue in his Land, &c. Yet in processe of time, beeing in great favour with the Emperour, I made supplication againe by reason we had newes that the Hollanders were in Achen and Patania; which rejoyced us much, with hope, that God should bring us to our Countrey againe, by one meanes or other. Then I made supplication againe, and boldly spake my selfe with him, at which he gave me no answer. I told him, if he would permit me to depart, I would bee a meanes, that both the English, and Hollanders should come and traffique there in his Land. He answered, that he was desirous of both those Nations company for traffique, but would not part with me by any meanes: but bade me write to that purpose. Seeing therefore I could not prevaile for my selfe, I sued that my Captaine might depart, which suit hee presently graunted me. So having gotten his libertie, he imbarqued in a Japans Junck, and sayled to Patane: but he tarried there a yeers space, waiting for Holland ships. And seeing none came, he went from Patane to Jor, where he found a Fleet of nine saile: of which Fleet Matleef was General, and in this Fleet he was made Master againe, which Fleet sailed to Malacca, and fought with an Armado of Portugals: in which battel he was shot, and presently died: so that as yet, I think, no certain newes is knowne, whether I be living or dead. Therefore my desire is, that my wife and two children may heare, that I am here in Japan: so that my wife is in a manner a widdow, and my children fatherlesse: which thing only is my greatest griefe of heart, and conscience, &c. I am a man not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse: to my good Master M. Nicholas Diggines, and M.

He obtained libertie for the captaine.

The Captaine slaine at Malacca.

Thomas Best, and M. Nicholas Isaac, and William Isaac, brothers, with many others; also to M. William Jones, and M. Becket. Therefore may this Letter come to any of their hands, or the copy of this Letter: I know that Companies mercy is such, that my friends and kinred shall have newes, that I doe as yet live in this vale of my sinfull pilgrimage: the which thing againe and againe I do desire for Jesus sake.

You shall understand, that the first shippe that I did make, made a Voyage or two, and then the King commanded me to make an other, the which I did, beeing of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes. In this ship I have made a Voyage from Meaco to Eddo, beeing about the length as from London to the Lizarde or Lands end of England. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. the King lent this ship to the Governour of Manilla, to goe with eightie of his men, to saile to Acapulco. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. a great ship called the S. Francisco, beeing about a thousand tunnes, was cast away upon the coast of Japan, in the latitude of thirty five degrees and fiftie minutes: by distresse of weather she cut overboord her maine Mast, and bore up for Japan, and in the night before they were aware, they ranne the ship upon the shore, which was cast away, in the which one hundred thirtie and sixe men were drowned, and three hundred fortie, or three hundred fiftie saved: in which ship the Governour of Manilla as a Passenger, was to returne to Nova Spania. But this Governour was sent in the bigger ship of my building, in Ann. 1610. to Acapulco. And in Ann. 1611. this Governour returned another ship in her roome, with a great present, and with an Embassadour to the Emperour, giving him thankes for his great friendship: and also sent the price of the Emperours ship in goods and money: which shippe the Spaniards have now in the Philippinas. Now for my service which I have done and daily doe, being employed in the Emperours service, he hath given me a living, like unto a Lordship in England, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen, who are as my

He builded an other ship for the King of 120. tunnes.

1609. *The S. Francisco a Spanish ship of 1000. tunnes cast away on the coast of Japan in 35. degrees 50. min.*

A new and greater pension given unto him.

[I. iii. 129.] servants and slaves: the like President was never done to any stranger before. Thus God hath provided for mee after my great miserie; his name hath and have the prayse for ever, Amen.

Now, whether I shall come out of this Land I know not. Untill this present there hath been no meanes, but now, through the Trade of the Hollanders there is meanes.

Two Ships of Holland came to Japan, in the yeare 1609.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1609. two Holland Ships came to Japan. Their Intention was to take the Caracke, that yeerely came from Macao, and being some five or six dayes too late, neverthelesse, they came to Firando, and came to the Court to the Emperour: where they were in great friendship received, conditioning with the Emperour yearely, to send a Ship or two: and so they departed with the Emperours Passe.

Another small Ship of Holland, arrived there, 1611.

Now, this yeare 1611. there is a small Ship arrived, with Cloth, Lead, Elephants teeth, Dammaske, and blacke Taffities, raw Silke, Pepper, and other commodities: and they have shewed cause, why they missed the former yeare 1610. according to promise yearely to come. This Ship is well received, and with great kindnesse intertained. You shall understand that the Hollanders have, here, an Indies of money: for, they need not to bring Silver out of Holland in to the East Indies. For in Japan, there is much Silver and Gold to serve their turnes in other places where need requireth in the East Indies. But the merchandise, which is here vendible for readie money, is, raw Silke, Damaske, blacke Taffities, blacke and red Cloth of the best, Lead, and such like goods. So, now understanding by this Holland Ship lately arrived here, that there is a settled Trade driven by my Countrey-men in the East Indies: I presume that amongst them, some, either Merchants, Masters, or Mariners, must needs know mee. Therefore I have emboldned my selfe to write these few lines, in short, being desirous, not to be over-tedious to the Reader.

There is much Silver & Gold in Japan. Commodities vendible for readie money.

The length and breadth of Japan.

This Iland of Japan is a great Land, and lyeth to the Northwards in the Latitude of eight and fortie degrees, and the Souther-most part of it, in five and thirtie degrees, and

the length of it East by North, and West & by South (for so it lyeth) is two hundred and twentie English leagues. The breadth South and North of it thirteene degrees twenty leagues to the degree, is two hundred sixty leagues, & is almost square. The people of this Iland of Japan are good of nature, curteous above measure, and valiant in warre: their Justice is severely executed without any partialitie upon transgressors of the Law. They are governed in great civilitie, I thinke, no Land better governed in the world by Civill Policie. The people are verie superstitious in their Religion, and are of divers opinions. There are many Jesuites and Franciscan Friars in this Land, and they have converted many to be Christians, and have many Churches in the Iland. Thus, in short I am constrained to write, hoping that by one meanes or other, in processe of time I shall heare of my wife and children: and so with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almightie, desiring all those to whom this my Letter shall come, to use the meanes to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may heare of me: by which meanes there may be hope, that I may heare of my wife and children before my death: The which the Lord grant to his glorie, and my comfort, Amen.

The disposition of people.

Many Jesuites and Franciscan Friars in Japan.

Dated in Japan the two and twentieth of October, 1611.

By your unworthy friend and servant, to command in what I can,

WILLIAM ADAMS.

Endorsed,

To my unknowne Friends and Countrey-men, desiring this Letter, by your good meanes, or the Newes or Copie of this Letter, may come to the hands of one, or many of my acquaintance in Lime-house, or elsewhere, or in Kent in Gillingham by Rochester.

A Letter of William Adams to his Wife from Japan.

LOving Wife, you shall understand how all things have passed with mee from the time of mine absence from you. We set saile with five ships from the Texel in Holland, the foure and twentieth of June, 1598. And departed from the Coast of England, the fift of July. And the one and twentieth of August, we came to one of the Isles of Capo Verde, called Sant' Iago, where we abode foure and twentie dayes. In which time many of our men fell sicke through the unwholsomenesse of the Aire, and our Generall among the rest. Now the reason that we abode so long at these Ilands was, That one of the Captaines of our Fleet made our Generall beleeve, that at these Ilands we should find great store of refreshing, as Goats and other things which was untrue.

The Iles of Cape Verde.

Here I and all the Pilots of the fleet were called to a Councell: in which wee all shewed our judgements of disliking the place: which were by all the Captaines taken so ill, that afterward it was agreed by them all, that the Pilots should be no more in the Councell, the which was executed. The fifteenth day of September we departed from the Isle of Sant' Iago, and passed the Equinoctiall Line. And in the latitude of three degrees to the South our Generall dyed: wherewith many contrarie windes and raine, the season of the yeare being very much past, wee were forced upon the Coast of Guiney, falling upon an head-land called Cabo de Spiritu Sancto. The new Generall commanded to beare up with Cape de Lopo Consalves, there to seeke refreshing for our men, the which we did. In which place we landed all our sicke men, where they did not much better, for wee could find no store of victuals. The nine and twentieth of December wee set saile to goe on our Voyage; and in our way we fell with an Island called Illha da Nobon, where we landed all our sicke men, taking the Island in by force. Their Towne contayned some eightie houses. Having refreshed

Their General dyeth.

[I. iii. 130.]

Cabo de Spiritu Sancto in Guiney.

Capo de Lope Consalves.

Illha da Nobon taken by the Hollanders.

our men, we set saile againe. At which time our Generall commanded, that a man for foure dayes should have but one pound of bread, that was a quarter of a pound a day: with the like proportion of Wine and Water. Which scarcitie of Victuals brought such feeblenesse, that our men fell into so great weaknesse and sicknesse for hunger, that they did eate the Calves skinnes, wherewith our Ropes were covered. The third of Aprill 1599. we fell with the Port of Saint Julian: And the sixt of Aprill we came into the Straight of Magellan to the first narrow. And the eighth day we passed the second narrow with a good wind, where we came to an Anchor, and landed on Penguin Island: where we laded our Boate ful of Penguins, which are fowles greater then a Ducke: wherewith we were greatly refreshed. The tenth we weighed anchor having much wind, which was good for us to goe thorow. But our Generall would water, and take in provision of wood for all our fleet. In which Straight there is enough in every place, with anchor ground in all places three or foure leagues one from another.

April, 3. 1599. *The Straight of Magellan.*

In the meane time, the wind changed, and came Southerly, so we sought a good harbour for our ship on the North-side, foure leagues off Elizabeths Bay. All Aprill being out wee had wonderfull much Snow and Ice, with great winds. For in April, May, June, July, and August is the Winter there, being in fiftie two degrees ½. by South the Equinoctiall. Many times in the Winter we had the wind good to goe through the Straights, but our Generall would not. We abode in the Straight till the foure and twentieth of August, 1599. On the which day wee came into the South Sea; where sixe or seven dayes after in a greater storme we lost the whole fleet one from another. That storme being long we were driven into the latitude of fiftie foure degrees, ½. by South the Equinoctiall. The weather breaking up and having good wind againe, the ninth of October we saw the Admirall, of which we were glad, eight or ten dayes after in the night having very much wind, our fore-sayle flew away,

A good Harborough.

The 24. of August, 1599. they came into the South Sea.

and wee lost companie of the Admirall. Then according to wind and weather, we directed our course for the Coast of Chili: where the nine and twentieth of October, we came to the place appointed of our Generall in fortie sixe degrees, where wee set up a pinnesse and stayed eight and twentie dayes: In this place wee found people, with whom wee had friendship five or sixe dayes: who brought us sheep; for which we gave them Bels and Knives, and it seemed to us they were contented. But shortly after they went all away from the place where our ship was, and we saw them no more. Eight and twentie dayes being expired, we set sayle minding to goe for Baldivia. So wee came to the mouth of the Bay of Baldivia. And being very much wind our Captaines minde changed, so that we directed our course for the Isle of Mocha.

They arive on the Coast of Chili the 29. of October.

They trade with the people of the countrey in 46. degrees.

The Ile of Mocha.

The first of November we came to the Ile of Mocha, lying in the Latitude of eight and thirtie degrees. Having much wind we durst not anchor, but directed our course for Cape Sancta Maria, two leagues by South the Iland of Sancta Maria: where having no knowledge of the people, the second of November our men went on land, and the people of the Land fought with our men, and hurt eight or nine; but in the end, they made a false composition of friendship, which our men did beleeve.

The next day our Captaine, and three and twentie of our chiefe men went on land, meaning for marchandize to get victualls, having wonderfull hunger. Two or three of the people came straight to our Boat in friendly manner, with a kind of Wine and Rootes, with making tokens to come on land, making signes that there were Sheep and Oxen. Our Captaine with our men, having great desire to get refreshing for our men, went on land. The people of the Countrey lay intrenched a thousand and above, and straight-way fell upon our men, and slew them all; among which was my brother Thomas Adams. By this losse we had scarse so many men whole, as could weigh our Anchor. So the third day in great distresse, we set our course for the Island of Santa Maria, where we found

23. Men slaine. Thomas Adams slaine. The Isle of S. Maria. They meete with their Admirall.

our Admirall: whom when we saw, our hearts were somewhat comforted: we went aboord them, and found them in as great distresse as we; having lost their Generall with seven and twentie of their men slaine at the Island of Mocha: from whence they departed the day before we came by. Here we tooke counsell what we should doe to get Victualls. To goe on land by force we had no men: for the most part were sicke. There came a Spaniard by composition to see our Shippe. And so the next day he came againe, and we let him depart quietly. The third day came two Spaniards aboord us without pawne, to see if they could betray us. When they had seene our Shippe, they would have gone on land againe: but we would not let them, shewing that they came without leave, and we would not let them goe on land againe without our leave; whereat they were greatly offended. We shewed them that we had extreame neede of Victualls, and that if they would give us so many Sheepe, and so many Beeves, they should goe on Land. So against their wils they made composition with us, which within the time appointed they did accomplish. Having so much refreshing as we could get, we made all things well againe, our men beeing for the most part recovered of their sickenesse. There was a young man, one Hudcopee, which knew nothing, but had served the Admirall, who was made Generall: and the Master of our Shippe was made Vice-Admirall, whose name was Jacob Quaternak of Roterdam. So the Generall and Vice-Admirall called me and the other Pilote, beeing an Englishman, called Timothy Shotten, (which had been with M. Thomas Candish in his Voyage about the World) to take counsell what we should doe to make our Voyage for the best profit of our Marchants. At last it was resolved to goe for Japan. For by report of one Dirrick Gerritson, which had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that Iland. And we gathered by reason that the Malucos, and the most part of the East Indies were hot Countreyes where woolen cloth would not be much accepted: wherefore we all

The Generall and 27. men slaine at Mocha.

[I. iii. 131.]

Timothy Shotten an Englishman Pilot in the Admirall.

Dirrick Gerritson.

A.D. 1599.

They leave the coast of Chili, and saile directly for Japan.

agreed to goe for Japan. So leaving the Coast of Chili from thirtie sixe degrees of South-latitude, the seven and twentieth of November, 1599. we tooke our course directly for Japan, and passed the line Equinoctiall with a faire wind, which continued good for diverse moneths. In our way we fell with certain Islands in sixeteene degrees of North-latitude, the Inhabitants whereof are men-eaters. Comming neere these Islands, and having a great Pinnesse with us, eight of our men beeing in the Pinnesse, ranne from us with the Pinnesse, and (as we suppose) were eaten of the wild men, of which people we tooke one: which afterward the Generall sent for to come into his Shippe. When wee came into the latitude of seven and twentie and eight and twentie degrees, we found very variable winds and stormy weather. The foure and twentieth of February we lost sight of our Admirall, which afterward we saw no more: Neverthelesse we still did our best, directing our course for Japan. The foure and twentieth of March, we saw an Island called Una Colonna: at which time many of our men were sicke againe, and divers dead. Great was the miserie we were in, having no more but nine or tenne able men to goe or creepe upon their knees: our Captaine, and all the rest, looking every houre to die. The eleventh of Aprill, 1600. we saw the land of Japan neere unto Bungo: at which time there were no more but five men of us able to goe. The twelfth of Aprill, we came hard to Bungo, where may Barkes came aboord us, the people whereof wee willingly let come, having no force to resist them: at which place we came to an Anchor. The people offered us no hurt, but stole all things that they could steale: for which some paid deare afterward. The next day, the King of that land sent souldiers aboord to see that none of the Marchants goods were stolne. Two or three dayes after, our Shippe was brought into a good Harbour, there to abide till the principall King of the whole Island had newes of us, and untill it was knowne what his will was to doe with us. In the meane time we got favour of the King of that place, to get our

They crosse the Equinoctiall line.

These Iles seeme to bee the Ladrones.

8. of their men run away with their pinnesse.

They lost their Admirall the 24. of February, 1600.

An Ile called Una Colonna.

The 12. of Aprill, 1600. they discovered Japan neere Bungo.

They came to an Anchor.

Captaine and sicke men on land, which was granted. And wee had an house appointed us, in which all our men were laid, and had refreshing given them. After wee had beene there five or sixe dayes, came a Portugall Jesuite with other Portugals, who reported of us, that we were Pirats, and were not in the way of Marchandizing. Which report caused the Governours and common-peeple to thinke evill of us: In such manner, that we looked alwayes when we should be set upon Crosses; which is the execution in this land for theevery and some other crimes. Thus daily more and more the Portugalls incensed the Justices and people against us. And two of our men, as traytors, gave themselves in service to the King, beeing all in all with the Portugals, having by them their lives warranted. The one was called Gilbert de Conning, whose mother dwelleth at Middleborough, who gave himselfe out to be Marchant of all the goods in the Shippe. The other was called John Abelson Van Owater. These traitours sought all manner of wayes to get the goods into their hands, and made knowne unto them all things that had passed in our Voyage. Nine dayes after our arrivall, the great King of the land sent for me to come unto him. So taking one man with me, I went to him, taking my leave of our Captaine, and all the others that were sicke, commending my selfe into his hands, that had preserved me from so many perils on the sea. I was carried in one of the Kings gallies to the Court at Osaca, where the King lay, about eightie leagues from the place where the Shippe was. The twelfth of May, 1600. I came to the great Kings citie: who caused me to be brought into the Court, beeing a wonderfull costly house guilded with gold in abundance. Comming before the King, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderfull favourable, He made many signes unto me, some of which I understood, and some I did not. In the end there came one that could speake Portuges. By him the King demanded of me, of what Land I was, and what mooved us to come to his Land beeing so farre off. I shewed unto him the name

The Portugals accuse them for Pirates.

He was sent for to the great King.

He commeth to the Court.

The Kings questions.

of our Countrey, and that our land had long sought out the East-Indies, and desired friendship with all Kings and Potentates in way of marchandize, having in our Land diverse commodities, which these Lands had not: and also to buy such marchandizes in this Land, which our Countrey had not. Then he asked whether our Countrey had warres? I answered him yea, with the Spaniards and Portugals, beeing in peace with all other Nations. Further, he asked me, in what I did beleeve? I said, in God that made Heaven and Earth. He asked me diverse other questions of things of Religion, and many other things: As what way we came to the Country. Having a Chart of the whole world, I shewed him, through the Straight of Magellan. At which he wondred, and [I. iii. 132.] thought me to lie. Thus from one thing to another I abode with him till mid-night. And having asked mee, what marchandize we had in our shippe, I shewed him all. In the end, he beeing ready to depart, I desired that we might have trade of marchandize, as the Portugals and the Spanyards had. To which he made me an answer: but what it was I did not understand. So he commanded me to be carried to prison. But two dayes after he sent for me againe, and enquired of the qualities and conditions of our Countreys, of Warres and Peace, of Beasts and Cattell of all sorts, of the Heavens. It seemed that he was well content, with all mine answers unto his demands. Neverthelesse I was commanded to prison againe: but my lodging was bettered in another place.

He was sent to prison.

He was sent for againe.

He was sent to prison the second time.

The rest of this letter (by the malice of the bearers) was suppressed: but seemeth to bee in substance the same with the former. I have added this also, as containing divers things not mentioned in the former. This William Adams lately died at Firando, in Japan, as by *the last Ship we received intelligence.

**The James returning home this yeere.* 1621.

§. VI.

The second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne Knight, into the East-Indies, in the Tigre a ship of two hundred and fortie Tuns, with a Pinnasse called the Tigres Whelpe: which though in time it be later then the first of the East-Indian Societie, yet because it was not set forth by them, I have heere placed.

THe fift of December, 1604. we set saile from the Cowes in the Ile of Wight. The three and twentieth we arrived at Teneriffe, in the road of Aratana. The fourteenth of January at night we were troubled with extreme heate, lightnings, thunder and raine all the night.

The sixteenth we passed under the Equinoctiall Line, shaping our course for the Ile Loronnah, the wind being at South South-east, our course South South-west, & some three degrees South-ward of the Line, we met with such multitudes of fish, as it is incredible to report, so that with our Hookes, Lines and Harping Irons, wee tooke so many Dolphines, Bonitos, and other fishes, that our men were so wearie with eating of fish, that we could not tell what to doe with it. Moreover there were fowles called Pasharaboves and Alcatrarzes. We tooke many of those Pasharaboves, for it is a fowle that delighteth to come to a ship in the night: and if you doe but hold up your hand, they will light upon it. The other foule called Alcatrarzi is a kind of Hawlke that liveth by fishing. For when the Bonitos or Dolphines doe chase the flying fish under the water, so that he is glad to flee from them out of the water to save his life, this Alcatrarzi flyeth after them like a Hawke after a Partridge. Of these flying fishes I have seene so many flee together, that you would have thought them to be a great flocke of Birds afarre off. They are but little fishes, scarsly so big as an Hering.

Pasharaboves.
Alcatrazzi.

A.D. 1604.

The Ile of Fernando de Loronnah.

The two and twentieth we came to an anker at the Ile of Loronnah, being foure degrees to the South-ward of the Line, where, in going on shore, our Skiffe was over-set, by reason of the violent breach that the Sea made, at which time was drowned a Kinsman of our Generall called Master Richard Michelburne, and all the rest were saved.

The five and twentieth, our long Boat going to fill some emptie Caske with water, came againe within the danger of that unfortunate Sea, and was over-set, and two more of our men drowned. Here wee were very much troubled in getting wood and water aboord, because the landing was so dangerous, that wee were forced to pull our Caske on shore with Ropes, and so backe againe when it was filled. Not sixe dayes before we came hither, there was an Hollander here, which sent his Boat for water, which was broken all into pieces against the Rockes, and his mens braines beaten out, and their armes and legs cut from their bodies.

The sixe and twentieth, our Generall went on shore to see the Iland, and marching up and downe in the same, wee found nothing but a wild Countrey, inhabited onely by sixe Negros, which live like slaves. In this Iland have beene great store of Goates, and some wild Oxen; but by reason the Portugall Carakes sometime use to water here when they go into the East-Indies, and that these poore slaves are left there as their servants, to kill and drie Goates against their comming thither, they have destroyed both Goats and Oxen, so that wee could find but few. In this Iland are great store of Turtle-Doves, Alcatrarzes, and other Fowle, which wee killed with our Pieces, and found them to be very daintie meate. Also heere is good store of Maiz or Guynie Wheat. Here are likewise plentie of rotten Trees, whereon groweth the fine Bombast, and abundance of wild Goards, and Water-melons. When we were furnished with wood and water we came aboord.

The twelfth of February, wee found our selves to bee in seven degrees, five minutes to the South-ward: in which

place at night, I thinke I saw the strangest Sea, that ever was seene: which was, That the burning or glittering light of the Sea did shew to us, as though all the Sea over had beene burning flames of fire, and all the night long, the Moone being downe, you might see to read in any booke by the light thereof. *A strange glittering of the Sea.*

The thirteenth day in the morning, wee descried an Iland, or rather indeed a Rocke. The name is Ascention, the height eight degrees thirtie minutes to the South-ward. [I. iii. 133.]

The first of Aprill, toward night, wee descried Land from the maine top, which bare off us, South South-East, when according to our reckoning and accounts, wee were not neere by fortie leagues, but yet the variation of the Compasse, did tell us that wee were on Land thirtie leagues before we saw Land. *April.*

The second day in the morning we were hard by the shore, which was ten or twelve leagues to the North-ward of the Bay of Saldannah.

The third day we sayled by a little Iland, which Captain John Davis tooke to be an Iland, that standeth some five or six leagues from Saldannah. Whereupon our Generall, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the Iland, took his Skiffe, accompanied with no more then the Masters Mate, the Purser, and my selfe, and foure men that did row the Boat, and so putting off from the Ship wee came on land: while wee were on shore, they in the Ship had a storme, which drave them out of sight of the Iland: and wee were two dayes, and two nights before wee could recover our Ship. Upon the said Iland is abundance of great *Conies, and Seales: whereupon we called it Cony Iland. *Conie Iland.*

The eighth day, we came to an Anchor, in the Road of Saldannah.

The ninth wee went on shore, finding a goodly Countrey, inhabited by a most savage and beastly people, as ever I thinke God created. In this place wee had excellent good refreshing: in so much that I thinke the like place is not to be found among savage people. For wee neither *They land in the Road of Saldannah.*

wanted Beefe, Mutton, nor Wild-Fowle all the time we lay there. This Countrey is very full of Oxen and Sheepe, which they keepe in great Heards and Flocks, as we do our Cattle in England. Moreover, it doth abound with store of wild Beasts, and Fowles, as wild Deere in great abundance, Antelops, Babious, Foxes and Hares, Ostriches, Cranes, Pelicans, Herons, Geese, Duckes, Phesants, Partridges, and divers other sorts of excellent Fowles. Of which Fowles wee killed great store with our Pieces. It is also most pleasantly watered with wholesome springs, which have their beginning from the tops of exceeding high Mountaines, which falling into the Vallies, make them very fruitfull. Also there is a kind of Trees, not much unlike to Bay Trees, but of a farre harder substance, that grow close by the Sea side. The people of the Countrey brought us more Bullockes and Sheepe, then wee could spend all the time wee stayed there. So that we carryed fresh Beefe and Mutton to Sea with us. For a piece of an old yron Hoope, not worth two pence, you might buy a great Bullocke: and for a piece of yron, not worth two or three good Horse Nayles, you might buy a Sheepe. They goe naked, save onely they weare upon their shoulders a Sheepe skin, and before their privities a little flap of a skin, which covereth as much, as though they had none at all before them. In the time of our being there, they lived upon the guts and filth of the meate, which we did cast away, feeding in most beastly manner: for they would neither wash nor make cleane the guts, but take them and cover them over with hote ashes, and before they were through hote, they pulled them out, shaking them a little in their hands, and so eate both the guts, the excrements, and the ashes. They live upon raw flesh, and a certaine kind of roote which they have, which groweth there in great abundance. In this place we lay on shore, from the ninth of April untill the third of May. By which good recreation and refreshing, wee found our selves in as good health, as when wee put to Sea at the verie first.

Exceeding high mountaines.

Their women some are well featured, some of their men have but one stone. Copper is now in greatest request with them.

A certaine kind of root.

The seventh of May, wee were South off the Cape of Bona Esperanza, by estimation tenne leagues. This night we passed over the shoalds of Cape Das Aguilhas. *May. The Cape de Bona Esperanza. Cape Das Aguilhas.*

The ninth day, rose a mightie storme, at which time we lost sight of our Pinnasse, being driven by violence of weather from her. This storme continued for the space of two dayes, and two nights most fearefull and dangerous, with raine, lightning, and thunder, and often shipping of much water. The Portugals call this place, The Lion of the Sea, by reason of the extreame fury and danger, which they find in doubling of this Cape. In the extremitie of our storme appeared to us in the night, upon our maine Top-mast head, a flame about the bignesse of a great Candle; which the Portugals call Corpo Sancto, holding it a most divine token, that when it appeareth the worst is past. As, thanked be God, we had better weather after it. Some thinke it to be a spirit: other write that it is an exhalation of moyst vapours, that are ingendred by foule and tempestuous weather. Some affirme that the Ship is fortunate where it lighteth, and that shee shall not perish. It appeared unto us two nights together, after which time we had a faire wind and good weather. *The Lion of the Sea.* *Corpo Sancto.*

The twenty fourth, the Ile De Diego Roiz, standing in the Latitude of nineteene degrees & fortie minutes to the South-ward, and in the Longitude of ninetie eight degrees, and thirtie minutes, bare North off us about five of the clocke eight leagues off. Wee bare roome to have landed, but the wind grew so stiffe in the night, that we altered our determination. About this Iland we saw great store of white Birds, having in their tayles but two long feathers. These Birds, and divers others accompanied us with such contrary winds and gusts, that wee often split our sayles, and boulting to and againe, we rather went to the Lee-ward, then gained any thing, the wind blew so stiffe at the East South East. *The Ile de Diego Roiz in 19. degrees 40. minutes.* [I. iii. 134.]

The third day of June, standing our course for the Ile De Cirne, we descried the Ile De Diego Roiz againe, and bare roome with it, thinking to have stayed there to attend *June 3. The Ile of Diego Roiz is a verie dangerous place.*

a good wind: but finding it to be a very dangerous place, wee durst not come to an anchor there, for feare of the rockes and sholds that lye about it; and upon better consideration wee altred our purpose, and stood for East-India.

The Iles Dos Banhos.

The fifteenth of June, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile Dos Banhos, in sixe degrees, and thirtie seven minutes to the South-ward, and in one hundred and nine degrees of Longitude. These Ilands are falsely laid in most Charts, lying too much to the West. Here we sent our Boats to see, if they could find any good ground to anchor in. But searching both the South and West shore, they could find none. There are five of these Ilands: they abound with Fowle, Fish, and Coco Nuts. Our Boats went on shore, and brought great store of them aboord us, which wee found to be excellent meate. Seeing wee could find no good anchoring, by reason that in some places close under the shore it was so deepe, that wee could find no ground, and in other places were such sharpe rockes, and sholds, that wee durst not anchor, having but bad and contrary winds, we left these Ilands, and stood our course, as neere as we could lye for India.

Their Boates goe on shore. The Ile of Diego Graciosa.

The nineteenth of June, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile of Diego Graciosa, standing in the Latitude of seven degrees, thirtie minutes South-wards, and in Longitude one hundred and ten degrees, fortie minutes by our accounts. This seemeth to be a very pleasant Iland, and of good refreshing, if there be any place to come to an anchor. Wee sought but little for anchoring there, because the wind was bad, and the tide forced us to the shore: so that we durst not stay to search there any further. This Iland seemeth to bee some ten or twelve leagues long, abounding with Birds and Fish; and all the Iland over seemeth to be a mightie Wood, of nothing else but Coco-trees. What else this Iland yeeldeth we know not.

July. They passe the Equinoctiall Line.

The eleventh of July, wee passed againe the Equinoctiall Line, where wee were becalmed with extreame heate, lightning, and thunder.

The nineteenth we descried Land, which was many Ilands, as we thought locked in one, which lay under the high Land, of the great Iland of Sumatra. Here wee sent off our Boat to get some fresh water: but the Sea went with such a violent breach upon the shore, that they durst not land. The people of this Iland made great fiers also along the shore, with intent, as wee thought, to have had us come on Land. This Iland or Ilands, is in two degrees of Northerly Latitude.

An Iland or Ilands in two degrees of Northerly Latitude, adjoyning to Sumatra.

The five and twentieth we came to an anchor, by a little Iland, where we sent our Boat on shore for water; but finding none, they returned with some Coco Nuts, affirming, that the Iland was very full of Coco Trees, which had very few Nuts upon them. We saw three or foure people upon this Iland: but they went away and would not come neere us. Those people we imagined to be left there to gather the Cocos, and to make them readie against others should come and fetch them.

The sixe and twentieth, we came to an anchor, within a league of a great Iland, called Bata, lying in twentie minutes of South Latitude. Here we builded up our Shalop, and named her the Batte. In this Iland are none Inhabitants: it doth exceedingly abound with wood, and fresh water Rivers, as also with Fish, Munkies, and a kind of Fowle, which they affirme to bee that Countrey Batte, whereof in our time of being there I killed one, which was greater then an Hare, and in shape very like a Squerrill, save onely from each of his sides, did hang downe two great flaps of skin, which when hee did leape from tree to tree, hee would spread forth like a paire of wings, as though hee did seeme to flie with them. They are very nimble, and will leap from bough to bough oftentimes, taking hold with nothing but their tayles. Because our Shalop was builded in the kingdome of these beasts, she was called after their name, The Bat.

The Ile of Bata.

A great flying Squirel, or Bat.

The nine and twentieth day, travailing along the shore, in this Iland I discovered a Roader, riding under a little Iland about foure leagues from mee: which made mee

very glad, hoping it had beene our Pinnasse which wee lost in the great storme, neere under the Cape of Bona Esperanza: with which newes by night I gate aboord our Generall; who in the morning sent mee, with Captaine John Davis, to see if wee could find her. But when wee *Three Barkes.* came to the place, wee found three Barkes riding under the Iland. They made signes unto us to come aboord them, and told us they had Hennes; we answered them that we would goe fetch some money, and would come againe the next morning, and buy. Some of them understood Portuguse. Wee durst not goe aboord them, because wee were but evill provided. The next morning being better furnished, wee went, thinking to have some better commodities of them: but they had waighed anchor, and were all gone. It seemed they were afraid of us by their hasting away.

August. The fourth of August, we weighed anchor and stood for Priaman.

The ninth of August, our Generall manned the Shalop, and sent us along the Coast, to see if wee could find any Roaders, and espying a Sayle, we gave her chase, which [I. iii. 135.] when shee perceived shee could not goe from us, shee came to an anchor, and forsooke their Barke, and rowed all on shore to an Iland in a small Boat, where wee could not come at them. Wee laid their Barke aboord, not finding any one man in it: the chiefe lading was Cocos Oyle, Nuts, and fine Mats. But seeing it was but such meane stuffe, and knowing that if we should have taken it, our General would not have liked of it; wee left her, not taking any thing from her worth the speaking of.

The tenth and eleventh dayes we stood close along the maine land, whereas we espied eight Prawes, riding over *Tico a Towne in Sumatra.* against a place called Tico. Which when we first espied, we were in good hope, that we might find our Pinnasse among them. When we came up with them she was not there: but they put us in comfort, telling us there was an English Ship at Priaman, which was not past sixe leagues from this Towne of Tico. Then standing out to

Sea we saw our Admiral, and in short time got aboord, telling our Generall the newes. Wee had not sayled a league further, but our Ship came on ground upon a Rocke of white Corrall: but God be thanked, having a great gale, in very short time we got her off againe without any hurt at all: And comming neere unto the Road of Priaman, we descried our Pinnasse to be there, which wee had lost so long before in the great storme, in doubling the Cape of Bona Esperanza. The Captaine and Master of the Pinnasse, met us halfe a league from the Road in their Skiffe, and at our comming aboord of us, our Generall did welcome them with a peale of great Ordnance: And after many discourses passed of what had happened, in the time of each others absence, wee came to an anchor in five fathoms water, very good ground in the Road of Priaman, which standeth in fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude.

Their Ship commeth on ground.

They meet with their Pinnasse, which they had lost so long before.

Priaman in fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude.

The fourteenth, our General sent mee on shore with a Present to the Governor, and to others, to see what price Pepper was at, and to buy fresh victualls, and to know whether our men might came safely on shore. But when we came on shore, the Governour durst not speake with us privately, by reason of certaine warres that were among them: by which meanes they were growne jealous one of another. These warres grew upon this occasion. The King of Achen having two sonnes, hee kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made King of Pedir: whereupon the eldest sonne tooke his father prisoner, affirming that he was too old to governe any longer, and afterward made warre upon his younger brother. Thus seeing little good to be done in this place, having refreshed our selves with fresh victuals, we resolved to depart from thence.

The one and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stoo
for Bantam, on which day we tooke two Prawes, hav
nothing in them but a little Rice. The one of t
Prawes hurt two of our men very sore after they
entred her. For our men thought, because they saw

leap over-boord, they had all leaped over-boord; but they were deceived. For the first two men that entred were sore hurt by two which lay close hidden behind their Sayle: who assoone as they had wounded them, most desperately leaped over-boord, swimming away like water Spaniells. So taking such things as best fitted us, wee left their Prawes, doing them no further harme.

The three and twentieth, wee tooke a Fisher-boat, having nothing of value in him, letting him goe without any hurt, saving onely one of them was shot through the thigh at the first meeting, when they resisted us.

The five and twentieth, wee descried a Sayle, and sent our Shalop, Long-boat, and Skiffe to see what shee was: for our Ship and Pinnasse could not fetch her up, because they were becalmed. These Boats comming up with her, bid him strike sayle, but shee would not. So wee fell in fight with her, from three of the clocke in the afternoone, till ten of the clocke at night, by which time our Pinnasse had gotten up to us: then shee strooke her sayles and yeelded. So wee made her fast to our Pinnasse, and towed her along with us all night. In the morning, our Generall sent for them to see what they were: and sent three of us to see what she was laden withall. When hee had talked with them, they told him they were of Bantam: wherefore, knowing not what injurie he might doe to the English Merchants, that had a Factorie in Bantam at that present; and understanding by us, that their loading was Salt, Rice, and China dishes, hee sent them aboord their owne Barke againe, not suffering the worth of a penny to bee taken from them. They standing toward Priaman, and we toward Bantam, left each other. This Barke was of the burthen of some fortie Tuns.

A Ship of Bantam taken and freely dimissed.

The second of September, we met with a small Ship of [illegible]uzarate, or Cambaya, being about eightie Tuns: which [illegible] wee tooke and carried into the Road of Sillibar, [illegible]ding in foure degrees of Southerly Latitude; into [illegible]h Road many Prawes continually come to refresh [illegible]selves. For here you may have Wood, Water, Rice,

Buffles-flesh, Goates, Hens, Plants, and Fresh-fish, but all very deere.

The eight and twentieth day, having dispatched all our business, wee weighed anchor, and stood for Bantam.

October. The Road of Marrah.

The three and twentieth of October, wee came to an anchor in the Road of Marrah, being in the straight of Sunda: here we tooke in Fresh-water. In this place are great store of Buffles, Goates, Hens, Duckes, and many other good things for refreshing of men. They esteeme not so much of money as of Calicut clothes, Pintados, and such like stuffes. The people being well used, will use you well; but you must looke to them for stealing: for they thinke any thing well gotten, that they can steale from a stranger. [I. iii. 136.]

The twentie eight. Bantam.

The eight and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stood for Bantam, which standeth in sixe degrees and fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude. This day we came within three leagues of the Towne, where wee came to an anchor all night. Here wee thought to have seene the English Fleet; but it was gone for England three weekes before we came. Neverthelesse, those that remained in the Countrie, as Factors of our Nation, came aboord us, being very glad to see any of their Country-men in so forraine a place, and withall told our Generall, that the company of the Hollanders Ships that were in the Road, had used very slanderous reports of us to the King of Bantam: The effect whereof was, 'That wee were theeves, and dis-'ordinate livers, and such as did come for nothing but to 'deceive them, or use such violence, as time would give 'us leave to execute; and that we durst not come into 'the Road among them, but kept two or three leagues 'from thence for feare of them.' After our Generall had heard this report; it so mooved him, that hee weigh[ed] anchor, sending the Hollanders word, that hee would [come] and ride close by their sides, and bad the prowd[est] them all that durst to put out a Piece of Ordnance [against] him; and withall sent them word, if they did goe [about] either to brave, or to disgrace him, or his Count[rie]

hee would either sinke them, or sinke by their sides. There were of these Hollanders five Ships, the one of them of seven or eight hundred Tuns, the rest of a farre smaller burthen. But of this message (notwithstanding we came and anchored close by them) we never had answer. But whereas the Hollanders, were wont to swagger and keepe great sturre on shore, all the time before our being there, they were so quiet, that wee could scarcely see one of them on Land.

The second of November, they depart from Bantam.

PedraBranca.

ThreePrawes.

The second of November, having seene our Countreymen, wee tooke our leave, and stood our course for Patane. And in our way, as wee sayled betweene the Chersonesus of Malacca and Pedra Branca, wee met with three Prawes, which being afraid of us, anchored so neere unto the shore, that we could not come neere them, either with our Ship or Pinnasse. Wherefore our Generall manned his Shalop with eighteene men, and sent us to them, to request them, that for his money hee might have a Pilot to carrie his Ship to Pulo Timaon, which is about some five dayes sayling from the place where wee met with them. But they seeing our Ship and Pinnasse at anchor, about a mile from them, and that they were not able to come any neerer them, told us plainely, that none of them would goe with us, and being at anchor weighed, and were going away: Seeing that, we began a fight with them all three: one of them we tooke in lesse then halfe an houre, whose men, which were seventie three in all gate out of her, and ranne on shore. The other fought with us all night, and in the morning about the breake of day, shee yeelded unto us. Our Generall came to us in his Skiffe a little before she yeelded. They were laden with Benjamin, Storax, Pepper, China Dishes, and Pitch. The third Praw got from us, [illegible]hile wee were fighting with the other. Our Generall [illegible]ld not suffer us to take any thing from them, but only [illegible]f their men to Pilote us to Pulo Timaon, because [illegible]were of Java. These people of Java, are very [illegible]e in a desperate case. Their chiefe Weapons are [illegible]gs, Darts, Daggers, and a kind of poysoned

Two Prawes taken.

Arrowes, which they shoot in Trunkes. They have some Harcubushes, but they are nothing expert in using them. They also have Targets. The most part of them be Mahumetans. They had beene at Palimbam, and were going backe againe to Greece, a Port Towne on the North-East part of Java where they dwelled. *Poysoned Arrowes shot in Trunkes.* *Palimbam.* *Grece, a Towne in Java.*

The twelfth of November, we dismissed them, standing our course toward Patane.

The six and twentieth of November, we saw certaine Ilands bearing off us North-west, which neither we, nor our new Pilots knew. But having a very contrary wind to stand our course for Patane, we thought it very necessary to search those Ilands for wood and water, hoping by that time we had watered, to have a better wind. *Certain Ilands.*

The seven and twentieth, we came to an Anchor within a mile of the shore, in sixteene fathomes good ground, on the South-side of these Ilands. Heere sending our Boat on shore, wee found some of them to bee Sunken Ilands, nothing above the water but the Trees or Rootes of them. In one of them we found a reasonable good watering place, and all the Ilands a Wildernesse of Woods. It is a very uncomfortable place, having neither Fruites, Fowle, nor any kind of Beast wherewithall to refresh men. These Ilands we tooke to bee some of the broken Lands, lying South-east from the Ile of Bintam. *The broken Lands neere the Ile of Bintam.*

The second of December, having taken in wood and water, we weighed Anchor, standing our course for Patane, as neere as a bad wind would give us leave. For wee found the wind in these monethes to be very contrarie, keeping still at North, North-west, or North-East. *December.*

The twelfth day, neere unto Pulo Laor, wee descryed three sayles, and sending our Pinnasse and Shalop after one of them, being the neerest unto us, we stayed with our ship, thinking to have met with the other two: but in the night they stood away another course, so that we saw them no more. In the morning, we descryed our Pinnasse and Shalop, about foure leagues to Leeward, with the other ship which they had taken. The wind and *Pulo Laor.* [I. iii. 137.] *Another ship taken.*

current being against them, they were not able to come up to us: we seeing that went to them. When wee came, wee found her to be a Juncke of Pan-Hange, being in burden above an hundred Tunnes, laden with Rice, Pepper and Tinne, going to Bantam in Java. Our Generall not esteeming any such meane luggage, tooke as much Rice as served for his provision, and two little brasse Gunnes, and payd them royally for all: not taking any thing else from them, save only one man to be our Pilot to Patane: who was willing to come along with us, when he saw our Generall use them so well. The other two Pilots, which wee tooke before out of one of the three Prawes, were unskilfull men. Wherefore our Generall rewarding them, for the time that they had beene with him, sent them backe againe into their owne Countrey, by the Juncke which wee tooke, that was going to Java.

Pan-Hange.

Pulo Timaon over against Pan-Hange.

The thirteenth day we left her, standing our course for Pulo Timaon, joyning on the King of Pan-Hange his Countrey. Here we were troubled very much with contrarie winds and currents. For the Sea runneth alwayes from the beginning of November, to the beginning of Aprill, to the South-ward: and from Aprill to November backe againe to the North-ward. The wind also in the aforesaid first five monethes is most commonly Northerly, and in the other seven moneths Southerly. All the ships of China, Patane, Jor, Pan-Hange, and other places which are to the North-ward, come to Bantam or Palimbam, when the Northerly Monsoin is come: and returne backe againe when the Southerly Monsoin commeth: Which Monsoins come in the monethes before mentioned. This being observed you shall have both wind and tyde with you. Here, as I said before, I found such contrary violent winds and currents, that I could not in three weekes get a league a head. This Countrey of Pan-Hange is a very plentifull Countrey, and full of Gentry, after the fashion of those Countries, store of shipping, and victuals very cheape. This Countrey lyeth betweene Jor and Patane, and reacheth on the Sea-coast to Cape Tingeron, beeing a very high

The Monsons in these parts.

In three weeks hee could not get one league a head.

Cape Tingeron.

Cape, and the first Land-fall that the Caracks of Macao or Juncks of China, or Camboia Prawes doe make as they come for Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Jumbe, Jor, Palimbam, Grece, or any other parts to the South-ward.

Here as I stood for Patane: about the twentie seven of December, I met with a Juncke of the Japons, which had been pyrating along the coast of China and Camboia. Their Pilote being dead, with ignorance and foule weather, they had cast away their ship on the sholds of the great Iland Borneo; and to enter into the Countrey of Borneo, they durst not: for the Japons are not suffered to land in any Port in India with weapons: beeing accounted a people so desperate and daring, that they are feared in all places where they come. These people, their ship being splitted, with their Shalops entred this Juncke, wherein I met them, which was of Patane, and killed all the people save one old Pilot. This Juncke was laden with Rice, which when they had possessed and furnished with such furniture, necessaries and armes as they saved out of their sunken shippe, they shaped their course for Japan: but the badnesse of their Juncke, contrarie winds, and unseasonablenesse of the yeare forced them to Leeward: which was the cause of mine unluckie meeting them. After I had haled them, and made them come to Lee-ward, sending my Boat aboord them, I found them by their men and furniture very unproportionable for such a ship as they were in; which was a Juncke not above seventie tunnes in burthen, and they were ninetie men, and most of them in too gallant a habit for Saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them, that they seemed all fellowes: yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine, but gave him little respect. I caused them to come to an Anchor, and upon further examination I found their lading to be only Rice; and for the most part spilt with wet: for their ship was leake both under and above water. Upon questioning with them, I understood them to be men of Warre, that had pillaged on the Coast of China and Camboia, and, as I said before, had cast away their ship on the sholds of

Borneo. Here wee road at Anchor under a small Iland, neere to the Ile of Bintam, two dayes entertayning them with good usage not taking any thing from them: thinking to have gathered by their knowledge, the place and passage of certaine ships, on the Coast of China to have made my Voyage. But these Rogues being desperate in winds and fortunes, being hopelesse in that paltrie Juncke ever to returne to their Countrey, resolved with themselves either to gaine my shippe, or to lose their lives. And upon mutuall courtesies with gifts and feastings betweene us, sometimes five and twentie or sixe and twentie of their chiefest came aboord: whereof I would not suffer above sixe to have weapons. Their was never the like number of our men aboord their Juncke. I willed Captaine John Davis in the morning to possesse himselfe of their weapons, and to put the Companie before Mast, and to leave some Guard on their weapons, while they searched in the Rice, doubting that by searching and finding that which would dislike them, they might suddenly set upon my men, and put them to the Sword: as the sequell prooved. Captaine Davis being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possesse himselfe of their weapons, though I sent twice of purpose from my shippe to will him to doe it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the Rice, and they looking on: at the Sunne-setting, after long search and nothing found, save a little Storax and Benjamin: they seeing oportunitie, and talking to the rest of their Companie which were in my ship, being neere
[I. iii. 138.] to their Juncke, they resolved, at a watch-word betweene them, to set upon us resolutely in both ships. This being concluded, they suddenly killed and drave over-boord, all my men that were in their ship; and those which were aboord my ship sallied out of my Cabbin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certaine Targets in my Cabin, and other things that they used as weapons. My selfe being aloft on the Decke, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waste, where, with the Boate Swaines, Carpenter and some few more,

wee kept them under the halfe-decke. At their first comming forth of the Cabbin, they met Captaine Davis comming out of the Gun-roome, whom they pulled into the Cabbin, and giving him sixe or seven mortall wounds, they thrust him out of the Cabbin before them. His wounds were so mortall, that he dyed assoone as he came into the waste. They pressed so fiercely to come to us, as we receiving them on our Pikes, they would gather on our Pikes with their hands to reach us with their Swords. It was neere halfe an houre before we could stone them backe into the Cabbin: In which time we had killed three or foure of their Leaders. After they were driven into the Cabbin, they fought with us at the least foure houres before we could suppresse them, often fyring the Cabbin, burning the bedding, and much other stuffe that was there. And had we not with two Demy-culverings, from under the halfe-decke, beaten downe the bulke head and the pumpe of the ship, we could not have suppressed them from burning the ship. This Ordnance being charged with Crosse-barres, Bullets, and Case-shot, and bent close to the bulke head, so violently marred therewith boords and splinters, that it left but one of them standing of two and twentie. Their legs, armes, and bodies were so torne, as it was strange to see, how the shot had massacred them. In all this conflict they never would desire their lives, though they were hopelesse to escape: such was the desperatenesse of these Japonians. Only one lept over-boord, which afterward swamme to our ship againe, and asked for grace, wee tooke him in, and asked him what was their purpose? He told us, that they meant to take our shippe, and to cut all our throates. He would say no more, but desired that he might be cut in pieces.

Captaine John Davis slaine.

Three or foure of the Japonian Leaders killed.

One and twentie Japoans slain with demiculvering shot.

The next day, to wit, the eight and twentieth of December, we went to a little Iland to the Leeward off us. And when we were about five miles from the Land, the Generall commanded his people to hang this Japonian: but he brake the Rope, and fell into the Sea. I cannot

tell whether he swamme to the land or not. We tooke our course right to the little fore-said Iland, and came there to an Anchor the thirtieth of December. We remained there three dayes to mend our Boat, and to take in wood and water. In this Iland we found a ship of Patane, out of which we tooke the Captaine, and asked him, whether the ships of China were come to Patane, or no? He told us that they were not yet come, but that they would come thither within few dayes. We made the Captaine of that ship to be our Pilot, because he knew very well to what place the Chinish ships would come.

The tenth of January we purposed to stay their, till it pleased God, that we should meete the Chinish ships.

The twelfth of Januarie, one of our Mates climbed up to the top of the Mast, and descryed two ships which came toward us: but because of the wind they were forced to goe to the Leeward of the Iland. Assoone as we had sight of them wee weighed Anchor, and made toward them. And we fetched up the greatest of them the twelfth of Januarie in the night. We fought a little with them, and boorded them, and brought them to an Anchor.

The next day, to wit, the thirtieth of Januarie we unladed some of their goods, to wit, raw Silke and other Silkes. They had fiftie Tunnes of Silver of their Countrey: but we tooke little or none of it; because we had good hope, that we should meete with the other Chinish ships. After we had taken some of their Silkes, we let them depart the fifteenth of January: and gave them twice as much, as wee had taken from them. And casting them off, wee tooke our course backe againe to China Bata: but we could not fetch it up, because we had contrarie wind; so that we were forced to put Lee-ward unto two small Ilands, which they of Java call Pulo Sumatra: where we came to an Anchor the two and twentieth of Januarie.

They returne from the Ile of Bintam.

Two small Ilands called Pulo Sumatra.

The foure and twentieth day, as we rode at Anchor there arose a great storme of wind, with which our Cable brake, so that we were forced to put into the neerest Creeke.

February. The second of February, five Holland ships met with

us sayling homeward, which put into the same Roade where wee were. Captaine Warwicke was Generall of these ships. Hee sent to our Generall to dine with him. Our Generall went to him. He told us that our English Merchants in Bantam were in great perill, and that still they looked for nothing else, then that the King of Java would assault them, because we had taken the China ship, whereby the King of Bantam had lost his custome. Wherefore Captaine Warwicke requested our Generall, that hee would cease to goe any further, and would sayle home unto England with him. Our Generall answered, That hee had not as yet made his Voyage, and that therefore hee would not returne, untill it should please God to send him somewhat to make up the Game. The Hollanders perceiving that they could not perswade our General to give over his purpose, departed from us the third of Februarie. *February the third.*

Our Generall considering, that if he should proceed on his Voyage, it would be very dangerous for the English Merchants which were resident in those parts, and seeing that hee had but two Anchors and two Cables to helpe himselfe withall, thought good to repaire his ships, and to returne home with that poore Voyage that he had made. [I. iii. 139.]

When our ships were readie, and that we had taken in wood and water, wee hoysed up our sayles the fift of February to returne for England. *They returne home.*

The seventh of Aprill we had sight of the Cape of Bona Esperanza, after wee had passed a great storme. *April 7, 1606.*

The seventeenth of Aprill we came to the Ile of Sancta Helena, where we watered, and found refreshment, as Wine and Goates, which we our selves killed. In the said Iland are many wilde Swine and Goates. There are also great store of Partridges, Turkie Cockes, and Ginnie Hennes, This Iland is not inhabited. We departed from thence the third of May. *SanctaHelena.*

The fourteenth, we passed under the Equinoctiall Line. *May.*

They arrived in Milford Haven in Wales. The seven and twentieth of June, we arrived in Milford Haven in Wales.

They came to Portsmouth. The ninth of July, we came to an Anchor in Portsmouth Roade, where all our Companie were dismissed. And heere wee ended our Voyage, having beene out upon the same full nineteene moneths, in the yeare 1606.

Chap. II.

A Priviledge for fifteene yeeres granted by her Majestie to certaine Adventurers, for the discoverie of the Trade for the East-Indies, the one and thirtieth of December, 1600.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects, and to all other people aswell within this Our Realme of England, as elsewhere under Our obedience and Jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these Our Letters Pattents shall bee seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

The names of the Adventurers. Whereas Our most deare, and loving Cosin, George Earle of Cumberland; and Our welbeloved Subjects, Sir John Hart of London, Knight, Sir John Spencer of London, Knight, Sir Edward Michelburne, Knight, William Candish, Esquire, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, John Watts, John More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Cambell, Citizens and Aldermen of London, Edward Barker, Esquire, Thomas Marsh, Esquire, Samuel Bachouse, Esquire, James Lancaster, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, William Quarles, Bartholmew Barnes, William Offly, Robert Chamberlayn, John Harvy, Richard Wiseman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, Richard Barret, John Swynerton the younger, Thomas Garaway, William Romny, James Deane, John Eldred, Andrew Banning,

Edward Loaning, Thomas Jackson, Nicholas Leate, John Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, William Chamber, Rowland Bachouse, Humfrey Smith, Robert Sandy, Henry Robinson, Richard Poyntel, John Highlord, William Haryson, Humphry Style, Humphry Robynson, Nicholas Ferror, Thomas Farryngton, John Combe, Robert Offly, Roger How, John Hewet, James Turner, Morrys Abbot, James Carrell, Robert Brooke, Richard Chamblyn, George Chamblyn, Leonard White, John Cornelius, Ralph Basby, William Genyngs, Gyles Paslow, Robert Bell, Thomas White, Nicholas Lyng, William Palmer, Ellys Crippes, John Merrycke, Humphry Hanford, Thomas Symons, Robert Cox, William Wustall, John Humphry, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholmew Holland, Richard Cox, William Walton, William Freeman, Thomas Southacke, John Friar, Francis Dent, Richard Bull, Richard Pierce, Roger Henyng, Robert Cobb, Robert Robynson, Francis Euington, Francis Taylor, Thomas Westrow, John Midleton, Robert Gore, Ralph Gore, William Cater, George Cater, John Busbridge, Thomas Horton, William Bond Merchant-Taylor of London, William Cotton, John Stockley, Roger Owfield, Augustine Skinner, Richard Wise, Robert Towerson, Richard Taylbye, Robert Middleton, Robert Bateman, Richard Gosson, Robert Waldore, Richard Wrag, John Wrag, William Dale, Laurence Waldo, Henry Brydgman, Samuel Armytage, Edward Haryson, Edward Nicolson, Clement Mosely, John Newman, Humphry Wallot, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, John Coachman, Reinald Greene, Richard Burret, Robert Myldmay, William Hyne, George Chandeler, Edward Lutterfoord, William Burrell, Stephen Harvy, Thomas Henshaw, William Ferrys, William Aldersey, William Hewet, William Fisher, Joseph Salbancke, Nicholas Manly, Nicholas Salter, William Willastone, William Angel, Nicholas Barnsly, John Hawkins, Roger Dy, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewet, George Whitemore, Henry Polstee, William Greenwell, Robert Johnson, Bartholmew Huggott, Humphry Basse, Robert Buck, Ambrose

George Utly disfranchized the sixt of July, 1601.

[I. iii. 140.]

Wheeler, William Hale, Richard Hull Junior, John Hodgson, Alphonsus Foote, Edmund Spencer, Robert Dewsy, Richard Piott, William Bonham, Edward Barkeham, George Coles, Ralph Hammer, James Colymer, Samuel Hare, George Utlye, Gregory Allen, Henry Archer, Jeffry Kerby, John Cason, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, John Fletcher, Thomas Talbot, Robert Pennyngton, Humphry Milward, Richard Herne, Raph Allen, John Brooke, Anthony Gibson, Robert Kayes, Hugh Crompton, Richard Washer, George Holman, Morryce Luellen, Richard Parsons, Francis Barker, William Turner, John Greenwood, Richard Denne, Richard Ironside, George Smithes, James Dunkyn, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblayn, Robert Startford, Anthony Stratford, William Myllet, Simon Laurence, Thomas Lydall, Stephen Hodgson, Richard Wright, William Starker, William Smith, John Ellacots, Robert Bayly, and Roger Cotton, have of Our certaine knowledge beene Petitioners unto Us, for Our Royall Assent and Licence to bee granted unto them, that they at their owne adventures, costs and charges, as well for the honour of this Our Realme of England, as for the increase of Our Navigation, and advancement of trade of Merchandise within Our said Realmes, and the Dominions of the same might adventure, might set forth one, or more Voyages, with convenient number of Ship and Pynnasses, by way of traffique and merchandise to the East-Indians, in the Country and parts of Asia and Affrica, and to as many of the Ilands, and Cities, Townes, and places thereabout, as where trade, and traffique of merchandise may by all likelyhood be established or had: Divers of which Countries, and many of the Ilands, Cities and Ports thereof, have long sithence beene discovered by others of Our Subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of Merchandise. Know yee therefore, that Wee greatly tendring the honour of Our Nation, the wealth of Our people, and the encouragement of them, and others of Our loving Subjects in their good enterprises, for the increase of Our Navigation, and the advancement of lawfull traffique, to the benefit of

Our Commonwealth, have of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, given and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, doe give, and grant unto Our said loving Subjects, before in these Presents expresly named. That they, and everie of them from henceforth bee, and shall bee one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name, by the name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name really and fully for Us, Our Heires and Successours. Wee doe erect, make, ordaine, constitute, establish, and declare by these Presents, and that by the same name of Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, they shall have succession, and that they, and their Successours, by the name of Governour and Company, trading into the East-Indies, be, and shall be at all times hereafter, persons, able and capable in Law, and a bodie corporate and politique, and capable in Law, to have, purchase, receive, possesse, enjoy, and retaine lands, tenements, priviledges, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments, of whatsoever kind, nature, and qualitie soever they be, to them and their successours. And also to give, grant, demise, aliene, assigne, and dispose all and singular other things, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, by the same name, that to them shall, or may pertaine to doe. And that they and their successours, by the name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended in whatsoever Courts, and places, and before whatsoever Judges and Justices, and other persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and forme, as other Our liege people of this Our Realme of England, being persons able and capable; may, or can have, purchase, receive, possesse, enjoy, retaine, give, grant, demyse, aliene, assigne, dispose,

A Body Politique.

The style of the Corporation.

plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended, release, and bee released, doe permit and execute. And that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, may have a Common Seale, to serve for all the Causes and Businesse of them, and their successours. And that it shall and may bee lawfull, to the said Governour and Company, and their successours, the same Seale, from time to time, at their will and pleasure to breake, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them shall seeme expedient. And further, Wee will, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe ordaine, that there shall bee from henceforth, one of the same Company to bee elected and appointed in such forme and manner, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed; which shall be called the Governour of the said Company, and that there shall bee from henceforth, foure and twentie of the said Company, to bee elected and appointed in such forme, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall bee called the Committies of the said Company, who together with the Governour of the said Company, for the time-being, shall have the direction of the Voyages, of, or for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandises thereto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandises, of, or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the said Company: And for the better execution of this Our Will, and Grant in this behalfe; Wee have assigned, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the said Thomas Smith, Alderman of London, to bee the first, and present Governour of the said Company, to continue in the said Office, from the date of these Presents, untill another of the said Company, in due manner, be chosen and sworne unto the said Office, according to the ordinances and provisions, heereafter in these Presents expressed, and declared, if the said Thomas Smith shall

A Common Seale.

Thomas Smyth Alderman the first Governour.

so long live. And also Wee have assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the same Paul Banyng, Leonard Holyday, John More, Edward Holmden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, James Lancaster, Richard Wiseman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert Sandy, John Eldred, Richard Wiche, John Highlord, John Middleton, John Combe, William Haryson, Nicholas Lyng, and Robert Bell, to bee the foure and twentie first and present Committies of the said Company, to continue in the said Office of Committies of the said Company, from the date of these Presents, for one whole yeere next following. And further, Wee Will and Grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour and Company, for the time being, or the more part of them present, at any publique Assembly, commonly called, The Court holden for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, being alwayes one from time to time, to elect, nominate, and appoint, one of the said Company to be Deputie to the said Governour; which Deputie shall take a corporall Oath before the Governour, and five or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, well, faithfully, and truely, to execute his said Office of Deputie, to the Governour of the Company; and after his Oath so taken, shall and may from time to time, in the absence of the said Governour, exercise and execute the Office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the Governour ought to doe. And further, Wee will, and grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, Executors, and Successours, unto us the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being,

The first Committies for the direction of the affaires, the Company being 24.

[I. iii. 141.]

A Deputy to the Governor.

or his Deputie to bee one, and from time to time, and all times hereafter, shall, and may have authoritie, and power yeerely, and every yeere, on the first day of July, or at any time, within sixe dayes after that day, to assemble, and meet together in some convenient place, to bee appointed from time to time by the Governour, or in his absence, by the Deputie of the said Governour, for the time being. And that they, being so assembled, it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour, or Deputie of the said Governour, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Companie, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Governour of the same Company for one whole yeare from thence next following, which person being so elected, and nominated to bee Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the said Office, shall take a corporall Oath before the last Governour being his Predecessor, or his Deputie, or any sixe or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, that hee shall from time to time, well and truly execute the office of Governour of the said Company, in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said Oath so taken, he shall and may execute and use the said Office of Governor of the said Companie, for one whole yeare from thence next following. And in like sort we will and grant, that as well every one above named to be of the said Company or Fellowship, as all others hereafter to be admitted, or free of the said Company, shall take a corporall Oath before the Governour of this said Company, or his Deputie for the time being, to such effect as by the said Governour or Company, or the more part of them. In any publique Court to be held for the said Company, shall bee in reasonable manner set downe and devised, before they shall be allowed, or admitted to trade or traffique as a Free-man of the said Company. And further we will and grant by these Pre-

The first day of July, or within 6. dayes after the yeerely election of the Governour.

Every Brother to take a corporall Oath.

sents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that the said Governor or the Deputie of the said Governour, and the Company and their Successors for the time being, or the greatest part of them, whereof the Governor, or the Deputie of the Governor from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, have authoritie and power yearly, and every yeare on the first day of July, or at any time within six dayes after that day, to assemble, meet together in some convenient place to be from time to time appointed by the said Governor of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputie. And that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for the said Governour, or his Deputie, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to bee present, whereof the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect, and nominate twentie foure of the said Company, which shall be Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensuing, which persons being so elected, and nominated to be Committies of the said Company as aforesaid, before they bee admitted to the execution of their said Offices, shall take a Corporall Oath before the Governour or his Deputie, and sixe or more of the said Committies of the said Company, being their last Predecessours for the time being, that they and every of them, shall well and faithfully performe their said Offices of Committies, in all things concerning the same. And that immediately after the said Oath so taken, they shall and may execute, and use the said Offices of Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next following. And moreover, our will and pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, we doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when, and as often it

The foure and twentie Committies to bee yearly elected, on the first of July, or sixe dayes after.

The Committies shall take a corporal Oath.

shall happen to the Governour of the said Company for the time, at any time within one yeare, after hee shall bee nominated, elected and sworne to the Office of the Governour of the said Company, as is afore-said, to dye, or to bee remooved from the said Office, which Governour not demeaning himselfe well in his said Office, Wee will to bee remooveable at the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater part of them, which shall bee present at any their publike Assemblies, commonly called their generall Court, holden for the said Company, that then, and so often it shall and may be lawfull to and for the residue of the said Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, within convenient time after the death, or remooving any such Governour, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as they shall thinke fit for the election of the Governour of the said Company; or that the said Company, or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall and may then and there before their departure from the said place elect, and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governor of the said Company in the place or steed of him, that so dyed, or was so removed, which person being so elected, and nominated to the Office of Governor of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said yeare, taking first a corporall Oath, as is afore-said, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so require. And also Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successors Wee doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when, and as often as it shall happen any of the Committies of the said Company for the time being at any time within one yeare next after, that they or any of them shall bee nominated, elected and sworne to the Office of Committies of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to dye, or be removed from the said Office, which Committies not demeaning themselves well in their said Office,

If the Governour dye, or be removed, a new to be chosen.

[I. iii. 142.]

Wee will to bee removeable at the pleasure of the said Governour, and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, within convenient time after the death, or removing of any of the said Committies, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is or shall bee usuall and accustomed for the election of the Governour of the said Company, or where else for the Governour of the said Company, for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before there departure from the said place, elect and nominate one, or more of the said Company to be Committies of the said Company in the places and steeds, place or steed of him or them, that so died, or were, or was so remooved, which person, or persons so elected, and nominated to the Office, or Offices of Committie, or Committies of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office and Offices, for, and during the residue of the said yeere, taking first a Corporall Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often, as the cause shall require. And further, Wee doe by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successours, will, and grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that they, and all that are, or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and everie of them, and all the sonnes of them, and everie of them at their severall ages of one and twentie yeeres, or upwards: And further, all such the Apprentises, Factors, or servants of them, and everie of them, which hereafter shall be implayed by the said Governour and Company, in the said Trade of Merchandise, of, or to the East-Indies, beyond the seas, or any other the places aforesaid, in any part of the said East-Indies, shall and may by the space of fifteene yeeres, from the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past, before the date hereof, freely traffique and use the Trade of Merchandise by sea, in, and by such wayes and passages

If any of the Committies, new to be chosen.

Freedome for the Sonnes & Apprentises of such, as are free of the Company.

The Places of the Freedome of this Company.

alreadie found out, or discovered, or which heereafter shall bee found out, and discovered, as they shall esteeme, and take to bee fittest into, and from the East-Indies into the Countries, and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creakes, Townes and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Sperancia, to the straights of Magellan, where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandise may bee used, or had, to, and from everie of them, in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intents, and purposes, as shall bee from time to time at any publique Assembly, or Court held by, or for the said Governour or Company, by or betweene them, of them of the said Company, or Fellowship of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them for the time, being present at such Assembly or Court, the Governour, or his Deputie being alwaies present at such Court or Assembly limitted, and agreed: And not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance: any statute, usage, diversitie, religion, or faith, or any other cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding: so alwaies that the same Trade bee not undertaken, nor addressed to any Countrie, Iland, Port, Haven, Citie, Creake, Towne, or place alreadie in the lawfull, and actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time heereafter shall bee in league or amitie with Us, Our Heires or Successours, and who doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to bee utterly against his or their good will and liking. And further, Our will and pleasure is, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their successours, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to and for the said Governour, and Company, and their successours from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any the matters, causes, affaires, or businesse of the said

The honourable Sr Thomas Smith Knight, late Embas-
ador from his Maiestie to ye great Emperour
of Russie, Gouernour of ye Honble and famous
Societyes of Marchants trauinge to ye East
Indies, Musscovy, the French and Somer
Islands Company, Tresurer for Virginia etc.

Simon Passeus sculp: Lond: Ao 1616.

Jo: Woodall exc:

Trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres within Our Dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the affaires thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present in any such place or places, whereof the Governour, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to make, ordaine, and constitute such and so many reasonable Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present shal seeme necessary & convenient for the good government of the same Companie, and of all Factors, Masters, Mariners, and other Officers imployed, or to be imployed in any of their Voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade, and traffique, and the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances so made, to put in and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke, or alter the same, or any of them as occasion shall require, and that the said Governour, and Company, so often as they shall make, ordaine, or establish any such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances in forme aforesaid, shall and may lawfully impose, ordaine, limit, and provide such paines, punishments, penalties, by imprisonment of body, or by fines, or amercements, or by all or any of them upon and against all offenders, contrary to such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governour, and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Governour, or his Deputy beeing alwayes one, shall seeme necessary, requisite, and convenient for the observation of the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the same fines, and amercements shall and may leavie, take, and have to the use of the said Governour, and Companie, and their Successors without the impediment of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or of any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or without accompt to

That the Company may assemble in any convenient place.

Authority to make reasonable lawes by the greatest part of a generall assembly.

[I. iii. 143.]

To punish offenders either in body or purse, so it bee not contrary to the Lawes of the Realme.

Us, Our Heyres, or Successors, to bee rendred or made. All and sundry which Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, We will to be duely observed, and kept under the paines and penalties therein to bee contained, so alwayes the said Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines, and Amercements be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Lawes, Statutes, or Customes of this Our Realme. And for as much as the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, have not yet experience of the kinds of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will bee vendible, or to be uttered in the said parts of the East-Indies, and therefore shall bee driven to carrie to those parts in their Voyages divers and sundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned againe into this Realme: We therefore of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for the better encouraging of the said Governour, and Company of Merchants trading into the East-Indies, and for the advancement of the said trade, doe grant unto the said Governour and Companie, and to their Successors, that they and their Successors during the foure first Voyages, which they shall make or set forth for or towards the said East-Indies, shall or may transport and carry out of Our Realme of England, and the Ports, Creekes, and Havens thereof, all such and so much goods and merchandizes, beeing goods and merchandizes lawfully passable, and transportable out of this Realme, and not prohibited to be transported by any Law, or Statute of this Realme, as shall be by them, their Factors, or Assignes, shipped in any Ship or Ships, Vessell or Vessels, to bee imployed in any of the said foure first Voyages, free of Custome, Subsidie or Poundage, or any other duties or payments to Us, or Our Successors due, or belonging for the shipping, or transporting of the same or any of them. And yet nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure is, and We doe by these Presents straightly charge and command, that all and every such goods and merchandizes so to be transported out of

Freedome of Custome of goods outwards for foure yeeres.

this Realme, shall from time to time during the said foure first Voyages, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time be duely entred by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer of such Port, Creek, or Place, where the same goods, or merchandizes shall happen to be shipped, or laden, to be transported as aforesaid. And also of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, We doe for Us, Our Heires, Successors, grant to and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that when and as often at any time during the said terme, and space of fifteene yeeres, as any Custome, Pondage, Subsidie, or other Duties shall be due and payable unto Us, Our Heyres, or Successors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to bee returned out, or from any the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid unto the Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, that the Customers, and all other Officers for the time being of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, for or concerning receipts of Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the Governour, and Companie of the said Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, give unto the said Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes sixe Moneths time for the payment of the one halfe, and after those sixe Moneths ended, other sixe Moneths time for the payment of the other halfe of their said Custome, Poundage, or other Subsidie, or Duties, receiving good and sufficient bonds with surety to the use of Us, our Heires and Successors, for the true payment of the same accordingly, and upon the receipt of the said bonds with suretie from time to time, to give unto the said Governour and Companie of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time beeing, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, their Cockets or other warrants to take out, and receive on land the same Goods, Wares, &

Sixe and sixe moneths time for payment of custome and subsidie inward.

Merchandises by vertue thereof, without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises of the said Governour, and Company for the time beeing laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, to be transported to or towards any of the Ports, Ilands, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places, aforesaid, shall happen to miscarie or be lost, before their safe arrivall or discharge in the Ports, for and to the which the same shall be sent, that then, and so often, and so much Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties, as they answered to Us for the same before their going forth of our said Ports, Havens, or Creekes, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurer of England for the time beeing of the said losse, and the just quantitie thereof, bee by vertue hereof allowed by the said Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by warrant of the said Treasurer, to the said Customers or Officers in the next goods, wares, or merchandises, that the said Governour and Company, or their successors, shall and may ship, for or towards those parts, according to the true rates of the Customes, Poundage, or Subsidies before payed for the goods, wares, or merchandises so lost, or miscarrying, or any part thereof. And for that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, are like to bring into this Our Realme a much greater quantitie of forreine commodities, from the parts of the said East-Indies, then can bee spent for the necessarie use of the same Our Realme, which of necessitie must bee transported into other Countries, and there vented: Wee for Us, Our Heires and Successours, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe grant to, and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that at all times, from time to time, during the space of thirteene moneths, next after the discharge of any the same forraine commodities so to be brought in, the Subsi-

If goods miscarry outward the value of Custome shall be allowed in other goods afterward shipped.

[I. iii. 144.]

dies, Poundage, Customes, and other duties, for the same being first paied, or compounded for, as aforesaid, it shall be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, and their successours, or any other the naturall Subjects of this Our Realme, which may, or shall buy the same of them, to transport the same in English Bottoms, freely out of this Realme, as well ungarbled, as garbled, without payment of any further Custome, Poundage, or any further Subsidy, to Us, Our Heires, or Successours for the same: whereof the Subsidy, Custome, Poundage, or other duties, shall bee so formerly payed or compounded for, as aforesaid, and so provided, and the said Customer, or other Officer or Officers, to whom in that behalfe it shall appertaine, for the time being, by vertue hereof, shall upon due and sufficient proofe thereof, made in the Custome House, of or belonging to the same Port of London, give them sufficient Cocket, or Certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And, to the end no deceit to be used herein to Us, Our Heires, or successours, Certificate shall bee brought from the Collector of the Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties inwards of Us, Our Heires, or Successours, to the Collectors of the Custome, Subsidie Poundage, or other duties outwards of Us, Our Heires, or successors to the said goods, wares, or merchandises, have within the time limited, answered their due Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties for the same inwards. And moreover, Wee of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, that it shall and may be lawfull for them, their Factors, or Assignes in their first Voyage or Fleet, which is now in preparing for their first adventure to the said East-Indies, to transport out of this Our Realme of England, all such forraine Coyne of Silver, either Spanish, or other forraine Silver, as they have procured, prepared, and gotten, or shall procure, prepare and get, as likewise all such other Coynes of Silver,

The Custome of goods being payed at comming into the Realme, it shall be lawfull for any naturall Subject to ship it out againe, upon the first Custome within thirteen moneths.

That it shall be lawfull in the first Voyage, to carry out in forrain Coyne procured by the Company, or Bullion, the value of thirtie thousand pound, so as sixe thousand thereof bee coyned in the Mynt.

as they have procured, or shall procure to bee coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, out of such Plate or Bullyon, as it shall bee provided for the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, their Factors, or Assignes, before the going foorth of the same Fleet in these three first Voyages, so as the whole quantitie of Coyne or Monies, to bee transported in this their said first Voyage doe not exceed the value, or sum of thirtie thousand pound sterling. And so as the sum of six thousand pound, at the least parcell of the said sum of thirtie thousand pound, be first coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London before the same, shall bee transported as aforesaid; any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe notwithstanding. And in like manner, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have granted, and by these Presents doe for Us, Our Heires and Successours, grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours: That it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour and Company, and their Successours, after the said first Voyage set foorth yeerely, for, and during the residue of the said terme of fifteene yeares, to ship and transport out of this Our Realme of England, or Dominions of the same, in any their other Voyages, to, and towards any of the parts aforesaid, in forme aforementioned, all such forraine Coyne of silver, Spanish, or other forraine Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they shall during the said terme bring, or cause to bee brought into this Our Realme of England, from the parts beyond the Seas, either in the same kind, sort, stampe, or fashion, which it shall have when they bring it in, or any other forme, stampe, or fashion to bee coyned within Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, at their pleasure, so as the whole quantities of Coyne or Monies, by them to bee transported in any their said Voyages, during the residue of the said terme, doe not exceed the value or summe of thirtie thousand pound in any one

After the said first Voyage, in all the rest of the Voyages, they may carry out in everie Voyage thirtie thousand pound of such forrain Coyne, as they bring into the realm, so as sixe thousand thereof be new coyned in the Mynt.

Voyage, and so as the summe of sixe thousand pound at the least parcell of the said summe, or value of thirtie thousand pound, so to bee transported as aforesaid, bee first coyned within Our said Tower of London, before the same shall bee transported in any of the said Voyages, any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe in any wise notwithstanding. And further, wee of Our ample, and aboundant Grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, have granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that they and their Successours, and their Factors, Servants, or Assignes in the trade of merchandise for them, and on their behalfe, and not otherwise, shall for the said terme of fifteene yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole entire, and only trade and traffique, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and priviledge of trading and trafficking, and using feate and trade of merchandise, to and from the said East-Indies, and to and from all the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid in such manner, and forme as is above mentioned, and that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and every particular and severall person that now is, or that hereafter shall be of that Company, or Incorporation, shall have full, and free authoritie, libertie and facultie, licence and power in forme aforesaid to trade and to traffique, to and from the said East Indies, and all and every the parts thereof, in forme aforesaid, according to the orders and manners, and agreement hereafter to be made, and agreed upon by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, or the more part of them, present at any Court, or publique Assembly, of, or for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being alwayes present at such Court or Assembly, and not otherwise. And for that the Shippes sayling into the said Indies,

That the trade shall be traded, according to the ordinances of the Company, and not otherwise.

[I. iii. 145.]

must take their due and proper times, to proceed in these Voyages, which otherwise, as we well perceive cannot be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore wee of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant, to and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that in any time of restraint sixe good Ships, and sixe good Pynnaces well furnished with Ordnance, and other munition for their defence, and five hundred Mariners, English-men, to guide and sayle in the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces at all times, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, shall quietly be permitted, and suffered to depart and goe in the said Voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or by the Lord High Admirall, or any other Officer or Subject, of Us, Our Heires or Successors for the time being, in any wise, any restraint, law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided neverthelesse, that if Wee shall at any time within the said terme of fifteene yeeres, have just cause to arme Our Navy in warlike manner, in defence of Our Realme, or for offence of Our enemies, or that it shall be found needfull to joyne to the Navy, of Us, Our Heires or Successors, the Ships of Our Subjects, to be also armed for the warres to such a number as cannot be supplied, if the said sixe Ships, and sixe Pynnaces should bee permitted to depart, as above is mentioned, then upon knowledge given to Us, Our Heires or Successors, or by any Admirall, to the said Governor and Company, about the twentieth day of the month of July, or three moneths before the said Governor and Company, shall begin to make readie the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, that wee may not spare the said sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, and the Mariners requisite for them to bee out of Our Realme, during the time that Our Navie shall be upon the Seas; That then the said Governour and Company, shall forbeare to send sixe such

That six Ships and six Pinnasses, shall bee yerely permitted to goe into the East Indies, and five hundred Mariners, any restraint notwithstanding, except the Navy Royall goe forth.

Ships, and sixe Pynnaces for their trade of Merchandise, untill that we shall revoke, or withdraw Our said Navie for this service. And Wee of Our further Royall favour, and of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have granted, and by these presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, doe grant unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that the said East-Indies, nor the Ilands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Townes or Places thereof, nor of any part thereof, shall not be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, during the said terme of fifteene yeares, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents. And by vertue of Our prerogative Royall, which Wee will not in that behalfe have argued, or brought in question; Wee straightly charge, command, and prohibite for Us, Our Heires and Successors, of what degree or qualitie soever they be, that none of them, directly, or indirectly, doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, trafique, or adventure by way of merchandise, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, or into & from any of the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid, other then the said Governor, or Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and such particular persons, as now be, or hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Assignes, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, unlesse it be by, and with such licence and agreement of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, in writing first had, and obtained under their common Seale to bee granted, upon paine that everie such person or persons, that shall trade or traffique into, or from any of the said East-Indies, other then the said Governour, or Companie of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, shall incurre Our indignation and forfeiture, and losse of the goods, merchandise, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this

A prohibition to all other subjects, not free of this Company, for trading into those parts upon severall paines, without the licence and assent of the Company.

Forfeiture of goods & ships.

Realme of England, or any the Dominions of the same, contrarie to Our said prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of these Presents, as also the Ship and Ships, with the furniture thereof, wherein such goods, merchandises, or things shall be brought, the halfe of all the said forfeitures to bee to Us, Our Heires and Successours, and the other halfe of all, and every the said forfeitures, Wee doe by these Presents of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, cleerely and wholly for Us, Our Heires and Successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies: And further, all and everie the said Offendors, for their said contempt, to suffer imprisonment during Our pleasure, and such other punishment, as to Us, Our Heires or Successours, for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered, untill they, and every of them, shall become bound unto the said Governour, for the time being, in the summe of a thousand pound at least, at no time there after, during this present Grant, to sayle or traffique into any of the said East-Indies, contrary to Our expresse commandement, in that behalfe herein set downe and published. And further, for the better encouragement of Merchant strangers, and others, to bring in commodities into this Our Realme, Wee for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading in to the East-Indies, that they and their successours may from time to time, for any consideration or benefit to be taken to their owne use, grant or give licence to any person or persons, to sayle, trade, or traffique, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, so as such licence be granted or given before such goods, wares, and merchandizes bee laid on land, and so as such licence bee made by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time being, under their Common Seale. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condiscended and granted, and

The division of the forfeitures.

Imprisonment.

Entring into bond of a thousand pound.

How the Company may grant licence to others, at what time.

[I. iii. 146.]

by these presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors, we doe condiscend and grant, unto the said Governour and Company of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that We Our Heires and Successors, during the said terme of fifteene yeares, will not grant libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenour of these our Letters Patents, to sayle, passe, trade, or traffique to the said East-Indies, or into, or from the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes or places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the said Governour and Companie of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the most part of them. And Our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine, that it shall and may be lawfull, to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, to admit into, and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentizes to any of the said Fellowship or Company, and all such Servants and Factors, of or for the said Company, and all such others as to them, or the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Governour, or his Deputie being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances, to be made for the Government of the said Company, Provided alwayes, that if any of the persons before named, & appointed by these Presents to be free of the said Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, shall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this first Voyage from the Port of London, bring in, and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed, or which within the space of twentie dayes next after the date hereof, shall be appointed by the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, to receive the Contributions and Adventures, set downe by the severall Adventures, in this last and present Voyage, now in hand to be set forth, such

That her Majestie will not grant to any others to enter into these parts, during the terme of 15. yeares.

That the Company may admit others at their pleasure into this Freedome.

Proviso, that if any named in the Patent doe not bring in his promised adventure set downe, it shall be lawfull for the Company to disfranchise him.

summes of money as have beene by any of the said persons, by these Presents nominated to be of the said Company, expressed, set downe, and written in a Booke appointed for that purpose, and left in the hands of the said Thomas Smith, Governour of the said Company, or of the said Paul Bannyng, Alderman of London, and subscribed with the names of the same Adventurers, under their hands, and agreed upon to bee adventured in the said first Voyage, that then it shall be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour or his Deputie to be one, at any their generall Court, or generall Assembly, to remove, disfranchize, and displace him or them at their wils and pleasures, And the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for them and their Successours, doe by these Presents covenant, promise, and grant to and with us, Our Heires and Successors, that they the said Governour and Company, and their Successors: In all and every such Voyage, as they at any time, or times hereafter during the said terme, shall make out of this Realme, by vertue of this Our Grant and Letters Pattents, the first Voyage only excepted, shall and will upon every returne, which shall be made backe againe into this Realme, or any of our Dominions, or within six Moneths next after every such returne, bring into this our Realme of England, from the said East-Indies, or from some other parts beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions, as great or greater value in Bullyon of Gold or Silver, or other forraine Coyne of Gold or Silver, respectively for every Voyage, the first Voyage only excepted, as shall be by force of these Presents, transported or carried out of this Realme, by them, or any of them in any kind of Silver above-said, whatsoever in any of the said Voyages, and that all such Silver, as by vertue of this our Grant and Letters Pattents, shall bee shipped or laden, by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realme in any of the said Voyages, shall from time to time at the

The Company doe promise to bring in after every Voyage returned within six moneths as great a quantitie of silver, gold, or forraine Coyne, as they shall carrie out, the first Voyage excepted.

setting forth of every such particular Voyages be shipped or laden at the Ports or Havens of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, or at some of the same Ports & Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatsoever within this our Realme, or the Dominions thereof, and that all and every such Silver, as from time to time, shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of London, Dartmouth and Plimmouth, or any of them to bee by force of these Presents transported out of this Realme, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time, be duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, Collector, or other Officer, to whom it shall appertaine of every such Port or Haven, where the same shall happen to bee shipped or laden, in the Custome Booke belonging to the said Port or Haven, before such time as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid without any Custome or Subsidie to bee paid for the same. And that in like manner, all, and all manner of Gold and Silver whatsoever, which shall be brought into this Realme, or any of our Dominions, by the said Governour and Company, or any of them, according to the true meaning of these Presents, shall likewise bee from time to time, duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer of every such Port, Creeke or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such time as the same Gold or Silver, or any part thereof shall be unshipped, or brought to Land, as is aforesaid. Provided alwayes, neverthelesse, and Our will and pleasure is, that these Our Letters Pattents, or any thing therein contayned, shall not in any sort extend, to give or grant any licence, power, or authoritie, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, to undertake or addresse any Trade unto any Countrey, Port, Iland, Haven, Citie, Creeke, Towne or Place, being alreadie in the lawfull and actuall possession, of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall bee in league, or amitie with us, Our Heires and Successors, and which

All silver or gold carryed forth by the Company shall bee shipped at the Ports of London, Dartmouth & Plimmouth.

[I. iii. 147.] *The Priviledge shall not extend into any place, being in the actuall possession of any Prince in league or amitie with her Majestie.*

doth not, or will not except of such trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same to be utterly against his, or their good will and liking any thing in Present before contayned, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also, that if it shall hereafter appeare to Us, Our Heires or Successors, that this Grant, or the continuance thereof, shall not be profitable to Us, Our Heires and Successors, and to this Our Realme, that then, and from thence-forth uppon and after two yeares warning to be given to the said Company, by Us, Our Heires or Successors, under Our or their Privie Seale, or Signe Manuall, this present Grant shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions, and purposes. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condiscended and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors doe condiscend, and grant to the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that if at the end of the said terme of fifteene yeares, it shall seeme meete and convenient, to the said Governour and Company, or any the parties aforesaid, that this present Grant shall be continued, and if that also it shall appeare unto Us, Our Heires and Successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, but that we shall find the further continuance thereof profitable for Us, Our Heires and Successors, and for Our Realme with such Conditions, as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then We, Our Heires or Successors at the instance and humble Petition of the said Governour and Company, or any of them to be made unto Us Our Heires and Successors will grant and make unto the said Governour and Company, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons Our Subjects, as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall be by Us, Our Heires or Successors newly nominated not exceeding in number foure and twentie new Letters Patents, under the great Seale of England, in due forme

If this Priviledge be found unprofitable for the Realme then within two yeares warning given under the Privy Seale, the same shall bee voide, but if it shall bee found beneficial, then the same to bee renued with some additions.

of Law with like Covenants, Grants, Clauses, and Articles, as in these Presents are contayned, or with addition of eyther necessary Articles, or changing of these into some other parts, for and during the full terme of fifteen yeares then next following. Willing hereby, and streightly charging and commanding, all and singular Our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other Our Officers, Ministers, Leadgemen, and Subjects whatsoever to bee ayding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour and Company, and to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Servants, Assignes and Ministers, and every of them in executing and enjoyning the Premises, aswell on Land, as on Sea, from time to time, when you, or any of you shall thereunto be required, and Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordayned, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention of the true yearly value, or certaintie of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them before this time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or restraint, to the contrarie hereof heretofore had, made, ordayned, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the one and thirtieth of December, in the three and fortieth yeare of Our Reigne. Per brevem Privato Sigillo.s.

HUBERD.

[Chap. III.

Chap. III.

The first Voyage made to East-India by Master James Lancaster, now Knight, for the Merchants of London, Anno 1600. With foure tall Shippes, (to wit) the Dragon, the Hector, the Ascension and Susan, and a Victualler called the Guest.

§. I.

The preparation to this Voyage, and what befell them in the way till they departed from Saldania.

He Merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600. joyned together, and made a stocke of seventie two thousand pounds, to bee imployed in Ships and Merchandizes, for the discovery of a Trade in the East-India, to bring into this Realme, Spices and other Commodities. They bought foure great Ships to bee imployed in this Voyage: the Dragon, of the burthen of six hundred tunne, the Hector, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the
[I. iii. 148.] Ascention, of the burthen of two hundred and threescore tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessaries appertayning to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went upon the Voyage.

The Merchants were Suters to her Majestie, who gave them her friendly Letters of commendation, written to divers Princes of India, offering to enter into a league of Peace and Amitie with them, the Copies of which Letters

shall hereafter appeare in their places. And because no great action can well be carryed, and accomplished without an absolute authoritie of Justice: Shee granted to the Generall of their Fleet Master James Lancaster, for his better command and government, a Commission of Martiall Law.

The said Master James Lancaster the Generall, was placed in the Dragon, the greatest shippe being Admirall: Master John Middleton Captaine in the Hector, the Vice-admirall: Master William Brand chiefe Governour in the Ascention: and Master John Heyward in the Susan: and more in every of the said ships, three Merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

These ships were readie and departed from Wolwich in the River of Thames, the thirteenth of February after the English accompt, 1600. with foure hundred and fourescore men in them. In the Dragon, two hundred and two men. In the Hector, an hundred an eight. In the Ascention, fourescore and two. And in the Susan, fourescore and eight. The Guest, a ship of a hundred and thirtie tunnes, was added as a Victualler. *The thirteenth of February, 1600.*

These ships stayed so long in the River of Thames, and in the Downes for want of wind, that it was Easter day before they arrived at Dartmouth, where they spent five or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other provisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of Aprill, 1601. and road in Tor Bay, till the twentieth in the morning. While wee roade there, the Generall sent aboord all the shippes, instructions, for their better company keeping, at their comming to the Seas: and further gave directions, if any of the Fleet should bee separated the one from the other, by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what *places to repaire unto, for their meeting together againe.

The second of Aprill, 1601. the wind came faire and wee hoysed our Anchors, and departed out of Tor Bay, directing our course towards the Ilands of the Canaria.

**April*, 1601. *These places were the Calmes of Canarie, and if weaknesse permitted not to double the Cape, Soldanha, the third Cape Saint Roman in Madagascar, to Cirne, and so to Sumatra their first place of Trade.*

May the fift. The wind holding faire, the fift of May in the morning, we had sight of Alegranza, the Northermost Iland of the Canarias, and directed our course betweene Forteventura, and the Grand Canaria: and comming to the South part of the Grand Canaria, thinking to water there, wee fell into the Calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth so neere the Sea-side.

The seventh of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee departed from the Grand Canaria, having the wind at North-east, and we directed our course South-west by South, and South South-west, till wee came into 21.½. degrees. From the eleventh to the twentieth, our course was for the most part South, till we came into eight degrees: the wind being alwayes Northerly, and North-east. In this heigth, we found the Calmes and contrarie winds, which uppon this Coast of Ginney, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden gustes of wind, stormes, thunder and lightening, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes: unlesse a diligent care be had, that all sayles be stricken downe upon the sudden, perceiving the ayre never so little to change or alter. And yet many times, although the Masters of ships were carefull, and looked unto it with great diligence: the suddennesse was such, that it could hardly be prevented. From the twentieth of May, till the one and twentieth of June, wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at South, and turning up and downe with this contrary wind, with much adoe, we got into two degrees of the North side of the Line: where wee espyed a ship, to the which, the Generall gave chase, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him: and by two of the clocke in the afternoone, we had fet her up and tooke her. She was of the Citie of Viana in Portugall, and came from Lisbone in the companie of two Carrackes, and three Gallions bound for the East-India, which ships she had lost at Sea. The three Gallions were ships of warre, and went to keepe the Coast of the East-India, from being traded with other Nations.

Wee tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fortie Buts of Wine, an hundred threescore and sixteene Jarres of Oyle, twelve Barrels of Oyle, and five and fiftie Hogsheads and Fats of Meale, which was a great helpe to us in the whole Voyage after. The Generall divided these Victualls indifferently to all the ships, to every one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of June about mid-night, we doubled the Line, and lost the sight of the North-star, having the wind at South-east, and we held our course South South-west, and doubled the Cape of Saint Augustine some sixe and twentie leagues to the Eastwards. The twentieth of July, we were shot into nineteene degrees, fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line, the wind inlargeing daily to the East-ward. Here wee discharged the Guest, the ship that went a long with us to carry the Provisions, that our foure ships could not take in in England. After wee had discharged her, we tooke her Masts, Sayles and Yards, and [I. iii. 149.] brake downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floting in the Sea: and followed our course to the South-ward. The foure and twentieth of July, we passed the Tropick of Capricorne, the wind being North-east by North, we holding our course East South-east. Now, by reason of our long being under the Line, (which proceeded of our late comming out of England, for the time of the yeare was too farre spent by six or seven weekes, to make a quicke Navigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore the nine and twentieth of July being in 28.½. degrees, hee wrote a remembrance to the Governour of each ship, either to fetch Saldavia or Saint Helena for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of August we *August.* came into the height of thirtie degrees, South of the Line: at which time we met the South-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the Scurvey in all our ships, and unlesse it were in the Generals ship only, the other three were so weake of men, that

they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire, till wee came within two hundred and fiftie leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, and then came cleane contrarie against us to the East: and so held some fifteene or sixteene dayes to the great discomfort of our men. For now the few whole men we had, beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great, that in some of the ships, the Merchants tooke their turnes at the Helme: and went into the top to take in the top-sayles, as the common Mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent us a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September wee came to Saldania, where the Generall before the rest bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his Boats to helpe the rest of the ships.

They arrive at Soldania.

For now the state of the other three was such, that they were hardly able to let fall an Anchor, to save themselves withall. The Generall went aboord of them, and carryed good store of men, and hoysed out their Boats for them, which they were not able to doe of themselves. And the reason why the Generals men stood better in health then the men of other ships, was this: he brought to Sea with him certaine Bottles of the Juice of Limons, which hee gave to each one, as long as it would last, three spoonfuls every morning fasting: not suffering them to eate any thing after it till noone. This Juice worketh much the better, if the partie keepe a short Dyet, and wholly refraine salt meate, which salt meate, and long being at the Sea is the only cause of the breeding of this Disease. By this meanes the Generall cured many of his men, and preserved the rest: so that in his ship (having the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to us all. After the Generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoyse out their Boats, they began all to be greatly comforted. Then, he himselfe went presently a-land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the Countrey people, and gave them divers trifles, as Knives, and peeces of old

The best remedy for the Scurvey.

Iron, and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spake to them in the Cattels Language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was Moath for Oxen, and Kine, and Baa for Sheepe: which Language the people understood very well without any Interpreter. After hee had sent the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind usage order was presently given, that certaine of every ships companie should bring their sayles a-land, and build Tents with them for their sicke men: and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against us, and thereby offer us any violence. And the Generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the Cattell, only five or sixe men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them and the rest (which should never bee under thirtie Muskets and Pikes) should not come neere the Market, by eight or ten score at the neerest: and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readinesse, with their Muskets in their Rests, what occasion soever should befall. And this order was most strictly observed and kept, that no man durst once goe to speake with any of the people without speciall leave, and I take this to be the cause, why we lived in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the Hollanders, which had five or six of their men slaine by their treacherie.

The most Universall language.

Defence necessarie.

Manners of trading with the Savages.

The third day after our comming into this Bay of Saldania, the people brought downe Beefes and Muttons, which we bought of them for pieces of old Iron hoopes, as two pieces of eight inches a piece, for an Oxe, and one piece of eight inches for a Sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Within ten or twelve dayes, we bought of them a thousand Sheepe, and two and fortie Oxen, and might have bought many more, if wee would. Now within twelve dayes they ceased to bring us any more Cattell, but the people many times came downe to us

afterward, and when we made them signes for more Sheepe, they would point us to those wee had bought, which the Generall caused to be kept grazing upon the Hilles about our Tents, and was the cause (as we judged) they thought we would have inhabited there, and therefore brought us no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satisfie our need, and might then, very well forbeare buying. These Oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the sheepe many of them much bigger, but of a very hairie wooll, yet, of exceeding good flesh, fat and sweet, and to our thinking, much better then our sheepe in England. The people of this place are all of a tawnie *colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much given to picke and steale: their speech is wholly uttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weekes, which wee remained heere in this place, the sharpest wit among us, could not learne one word of their language: and yet the people would soone understand any signe wee made to them.

[I. iii. 150.] *This Bay is in 34. degrees South of the Line.*

* *Qualities of the people, and their difficult language.*

The healthfulnesse of this Bay.

While wee stayed heere in this Bay, wee had so royall refreshing, that all our men recovered their health and strength, onely foure or five excepted. But, before our comming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our Ships one hundred and five men, and yet wee made account, wee were stronger at our departure out of this Bay, then wee were at our comming out of England, our men were so well inured to the Southerne Climates.

§. II.

Their departure from Saldania, and proceeding in their Voyage to Achen in Sumatra, with their trading at Saint Maries, Antongill, Nicubar: the strange Plant of Sombrero, and other occurrents.

THe foure and twentieth of October, the Generall caused all our Tents to bee taken downe and our men to repaire aboord the Ships: and being fitted both of wood and fresh water; The nine and twentieth of October, wee put to Sea, and went out by a small Iland, that lieth in the mouth of the said Bay: which is exceeding full of Seales and Pengwines, so that if there were no other refreshing, one might very well refresh there. Over the Bay of Saldania standeth a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and is called the Table: such another plaine marke to find an Harbour in, is not in all that Coast, for it is easie to be seene seventeen or eighteene leagues into the Sea. 1601.

Sunday, the first of November in the morning, wee doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza, having the wind West North-West a great gale. *November. 1. The Cape doubled.*

The sixe and twentieth of November, wee fell with the Head-land of the Iland of Saint Laurence, somewhat to the East of Cape Sebastian, and being within five miles of the shoare, wee sounded, and found twenty five fathome: the variation of the Compasse, being little more or lesse sixteene degrees. For in an East and West course, the variation of the Compasse helpeth much, and especially in this Voyage. *Novemb. 26.*

From the sixe and twentieth of November, till the fifteenth of December, wee plyed to the Eastward, the neerest our course wee could lie, alwayes striving to have gotten to the Iland of Cirne, which in some Cardes is called Diego Rodriques, but wee found the wind alwaies after our comming to the Iland of Saint Laurence, at East, and East South-East, and East North-East, so that wee *Decemb. 15.* *Ile of Cirne, or D. Rodrigues.*

could not obtaine it: and to strive long in hope of change of windes wee could not, for now our men began againe to fall sicke of the Scurvy. Then, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall called to the Generall, and thought it best to beare into the Bay of Antongile, and there to refresh our men with Oranges and Limons, to cleere our selves of this disease, which was by him and the whole counsell called for that purpose well approoved.

Iles of S. Mary and S. Laurence.

The seventeenth of December, wee had sight of the Southermost part of the Iland of Saint Mary, and the next day wee anchored betweene Saint Mary, and the great Iland of Saint Laurence: and sent our Boats aland to Saint Maries, where wee had some store of Limons and Oranges, which were precious for our diseased men, to purge their bodies of the Scurvy. Now, as we roade heere, buying Oranges and Limons, there arose upon us a very great storme, so that three of our Ships were put from their Anchors: but within some sixteen houres, the storme ceased, and the ships returned, and weighed their Anchors againe. The Generall thought it not good to make any longer stay there, seeing the uncertaintie of the weather, and that there was upon this Iland so little refreshing to be had: only these Orenges and Limons, a little Goates milke, and some small quantitie of Rice: we sawe onely one Cow, and that they drave away, assoone as they saw us come on Land. Seeing this place so dangerous to ride in, the Generall gave present order to sayle toward the Bay of Antongile, the time of the yeere being spent, the Easterly winds come against us, and our men sicke.

People of S. Mary.

This Iland of S. Mary is high land, and full of woods, the people are blacke, very handsome and tall men, and of curled haire, onely before in their foreheads they stroke it up, as the women doe here in England: so that it standeth some three inches upright. They are wholly without apparell, onely their privy parts covered, they are very tractable to converse withall, yet seeme to be very valiant. The most of their food is Rice, and some Fish: yet at our being there, wee could buy but small store of

Rice, for the time of their store was farre spent, and their Harvest was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the North part of this Iland: but none of them very commodious, yet with some travell there is water enough to be had.

The twentie third of December, we departed from this Iland of S. Mary, and the twentie fift being Christmas day, we came into the Baye of Antongill, and came to an anchor in eight fathom water, betweene a small Iland, and the Mayne, lying in the bottome of the Baye, a very good, and a safe roade. But, the best riding, is neerest under a small Iland, for the defence of the winde that bloweth there: for while we abode in this Baye, there blew an exceeding great storme, and those of our shippes, that road neerest the small Iland, beeing under the wind sped best: for two of our ships drove with three anchors ahead, the ground being Ozy, and not firme. At our going a land in the little Iland, we perceived by writing upon the rockes, of five Holland ships which had beene there, and were departed about two monethes before our comming in: and had had some sicknesse among their men, and had lost (as we perceived) betweene one hundred and fiftie, and two hundred men while they roade in that place. [I. iii. 151.] *Decemb.* 23. *The bay of Antongill.*

The next day after our comming to an anchor, we went a land to the Mayne Iland, where the people presently repaired to us, and made us signes of the five Holland ships departed, and that they had bought the most part of their provision. Yet, they entred into barter with us, for Rice and Hennes, Oranges and Limons, and another fruit called Plantans, and held all at high rates, and brought but a pedlars quantitie. Our market was neere to a great river, into which we went with our boats, and some men that were appointed to be buyers, went ashore: the rest remained in the boates, alwaies readie with their weapons in their hands: and the boates some fifteene or twentie yardes off into the water, where the people could not wade to them: and were readie at all times (if they a shore had had any need) to take them in. So, we trifled off some

daies, before (as aforesaid) we could bring them to any reall trade: for all these people of the South, and East parts, are very subtill, and craftie, in their bartering, buying and selling, that unlesse you hold a neere hand with them, you shall hardly bring them to trade in any plaine sort. For, they will sift you continually to give a little more, and then, no man will sell without that price: so that you must not inlarge to any one, more then another: for, in so doing, all will have that price, or none. The Generall seeing this, commanded measures to be made of (almost) a quart, and appointed how many glasse beades should be given for every measure: and he that would not deale in this manner, should not deale at all. The like order was set downe for Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, how many for every beade, or else not. Our Merchants after a little holding off, consented, and our dealing was francke, and round, without any contradiction, or words. So, that while we abode heere, we brought 15.¼. tunnes of Rice, fortie or fiftie bushels of their Pease, and Beanes, great store of Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, and eight Beeves, with many Hennes. While we roade in this Baye, we reared a Pinnace, which we brought in peeces in our shippes out of England: and cut downe trees, of which there were very great, and great store, which trees we sawed out in boordes, and sheathed her. This Pinnace was of some eighteene tunnes, and very necessary, and fit to goe before our shippes, at our comming into India. In the time we stayed heere, there died out of the Generalls shippe, the Masters Mate, the Preacher, and the Surgeon, with some tenne other common men. And out of the Viceadmirall there died the Master, with some other two. And out of the Ascention, by a very great mischance, were slaine the Captaine, and the Boatswaines mate. For, as the Masters Mate, out of the Generalls shippe was carried a land to be buried, the Captaine of the Ascention tooke his boate to goe aland to his buriall: and as it is the order of the sea, to shoote off certaine peeces of Ordnance at the buriall of any Officer, the Gunner of the Ordnance shotte

The want of this discretion in Virginia (whiles one out of need, or seeming bountie, would give a greater price then another, to the Savages, for their commodities) so heigthned the prizes, and made them over-value their corne, &c. that it proved much hinderance to the Plantation.

A Pinnace reared.

off three peeces, and the bullets being in them, one stroke the Ascentions boate, and slue the Captaine, and the Boatswaines Mate starke dead, so that they that went to see the buriall of another, were both buried there themselves. Those that died heere, died most of the Flux, which (in our opinion) came with the waters which we drunke: for it was the time of winter, when it rained very much, which caused great flouds to overflowe the Countrie: so that the waters were not wholsome, as in most places in these hot countries, they are not, in the times of their raines. This disease also of the Flux, is often taken, by going open, and cold in the stomacke, which our men would often doe when they were hot.

How vaine a thing is Man?

We set saile out of this Baye the sixth of March, and held on our course toward the India, and the sixteenth we fell with an Iland called Rogue-Pize, which lyeth in 10.½. degrees, to the South of the Equinoctiall Line. To this Iland the Generall sent his boate, to see whether there were any safe riding for the shippes: but the boate (for the most part) found deepe water, where the shippes could not safely ride. As we coasted along this Iland it seemed very faire, and pleasant, exceeding full of foule, and Coco nut-trees: and there came from the land such a pleasant smell, as if it had beene a garden of flowers. And surely, if there be any good riding for shippes in this Iland, it must needes be a place of very great refreshing. For as our boates went neere the land, they saw great store of fish, and the foules came wondering about them in such sort, that with the Oares, wherewith the Mariners rowed, they killed many which were the fattest, and the best that we tasted all the voyage. And of these, there was such exceeding great abundance, that many more shippes then we had with us, might have refreshed themselves therewith.

The Isle of Rogue-Pize.

The thirtieth of March 1602. being in sixe degrees to the South of the Line, wee happened upon a ledge of Rockes, and looking over-boord, and seeing them under the shippe about five fathome deepe, it much amazed us,

[I. iii. 152.] 1602. *Dangerous Rockes.*

falling upon the sudden and unexpected. Then, as wee were presently casting about the ship, wee found eight fathome: and so held on our course East. One of our men, being in the top saw an Iland South-east of us, some five or sixe leagues off, being but low land: this we judged to be the Iland of Candu, although in our course we could not (by computation) find our selves so farre shot to the Eastward. Bearing on our course some thirteene or fourteene leagues, we fell upon another flat of Rockes. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and sayling some twelve leagues, found other Rockes: so that, proving divers wayes, wee found flats of Rockes round about us: and twentie and thirtie, and in some places, forty and fiftie fathome water in the middest of the flats. Here we were for two dayes and an halfe in exceeding danger, and could find no way to get out. But at last, wee resolved to seeke to the Northward, and in sixe degrees, fortie three minutes (God bee thanked) wee found sixe fathome water: the Pinnasse alwayes going before us, and sounding with commandement, to make signes what depth she had, that thereby we might follow her. Thus (thankes be to God) being delivered out of this pound, we followed our course with variable windes, till the ninth of May about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. At which time we had sight of the Ilands of Nicubar, and bare in, and anchored on the North-side of the Channell. But the wind changing to the South-west, wee were forced to hoyse our Anchors, and to beare over to the South-side of the Channell: and so came to an Anchor, under a small Iland, that lyeth on the said shore. Here wee had fresh water, and some Coco Nuts, other refreshing wee had little. Yet the people came aboord our shippes in long Canoas, which would hold twentie men, and above in one of them: and brought Gummes to sell in stead of Amber, and therewithall, deceived divers of our men: For, these people of the East, are wholly given to deceit. They brought also Hennes and Coco Nuts to sell, but held them very deare: so that we bought few of them. We stayed here

The Isle of Candu.

Other Rocks.

The Iles of Nicubar.

ten dayes, placing of our Ordnance, and trimming of our ships: because we would be in all readinesse at our arrivall, at our first Port, which we were not (now) farre from.

The twentieth of Aprill, in the morning, we set saile to goe toward Sumatra, but the wind blew so hard at South, South West, and the Currant was against us, that we could not proceed: but beating up and downe, our ships fell into two leakes, so that wee were forced to goe to the Iland of Sombrero, some ten or twelve leagues to the Northward of Nicobar. Heere, we in the Admirall lost an anchor, for the ground is foule, and groweth full of counterfeit Corrall, and some Rockes: which cut our Cable asunder, so that we could not recover our anchor. *April* 20. *The Ile of Sombrero.*

The people of these Ilands goe naked, having onely the privities bound up in a peece of Linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so betweene their twist. They are all of a tauny colour, and annoint their faces with divers colours; they are well limmed, but very fearefull: for, none of them would come aboord our Shippes, or enter into our Boates. The Generall reported, that he had seene some of their Priests, or Sacrificers, all apparelled, but close to their bodies, as if they had beene sewed in it: and upon their heads, a paire of hornes turning backward, with their faces painted greene, blacke and yellow, and their hornes also painted with the same colour. And behind them, upon their buttocks, a taile hanging downe, very much like the manner, as in some painted cloathes, we paint the Divell in our Countrey. He demaunding, wherefore they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such forme the Divell appeared to them in their sacrifices: and therefore the Priests, his servants were so apparelled. In this Iland grow trees, which for their talnesse, greatnesse, and straightnesse, will serve the biggest shippe in all our Fleete, for a maine Mast: and this Iland is full of those trees. *Trees sufficient for maine Masts.*

Heere, likewise we found upon the sands, by the Sea side, a small twigge growing up to a young tree, and offering to plucke up the same, it shruke downe into the *A strange Plant.*

ground: and sinketh, unlesse you hold very hard. And being plucked up, a great Worme is the roote of it: and looke how the tree groweth in greatnesse, the Worme diminisheth. Now, as soone as the worme is wholly turned into the tree, it rooteth in the ground, and so groweth to be great. This transformation was one of the strangest wonders that I saw in all my travailes. For, this tree, being plucked up little, the leaves stripped off, and the pill, by that time it was dry, turned into an hard stone, much like to white Corrall: so that this worme was twice transformed into different natures: Of these we gathered, and brought home many.

§. III.

Their entertainement and trade at Achen.

29. *Of May 1602. Sumatra.* THe nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this Iland of Sombrero, and the second of June, we had sight of the land of Sumatra, and the fifth of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Achen, some [I. iii. 153.] two miles off the Citie. Where we found sixteene or eighteene saile of shippes of divers Nations, some Goserats, some of Bengala, some of Calicut, called Malabares, some Pegues, and some Patanyes, which came to trade there.

There came aboord of us two Holland Merchants, which had beene left there behind their shippes, to learne the language, and manners of the Country. These told us, we should be very welcome to the King, who was *The Fame of Q. Elizabeth.* desirous to intertaine strangers: and that the Queene of England was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres, and great victories, which she had gotten against the King of Spaine. The same day, the Generall sent Captaine John Middleton, Captaine of the Vice-admirall, with foure or five Gentlemen, to attend upon him to the King: to declare unto him, that he was sent from the Generall of those shippes, who had a message, and a letter, from the most famous Queene of England, to the most

worthy King of Achen, and Sumatra. And that it would please his royall Majesty, to give to the said messenger, audience to deliver his message, and letter: with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people, according to the law of Nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the King, who when he had delivered his message, gladly granted his request, and communed with him about many questions: and after, caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gave a robe, and a Tucke of Calico wrought with Gold, which is the manner of the Kings of this place, to those he will grace with his speciall favour. And withall, sent his commendations to the Generall, willing him to stay one day aboord his ships, to rest himselfe after his comming from the disquiet seas: and the next day to come a land, and have kind audience, and franke leave, with as great assurance, as if he were in the kingdome of the Queene his Mistris. And, if he doubted of any thing of this his royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him, for his further assurance, as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The third day, the Generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more, to attend upon him. And first at his landing, the Holland Merchants met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the Generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the King: but stayed at the Hollanders house, till a Noble man came from the King, who saluted the Generall very kindly, and declared, that he came from his Majestie, and represented his person. Then, he demaunded the Queenes letter of the Generall, which he refused to deliver: saying, he would deliver it to the King himselfe. For it was the order of Embassadours, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the Princes owne hands: and not to any that did represent the Kings person. So, he demaunded to see the superscription, which the Generall shewed him, and he read the same,

and looked very earnestly upon the seale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her Majesties name: and then, with courtesie tooke his leave, and repaired to the Court, to tell the King what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great Elephants, with many Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, with much people, to accompany the Generall to the Court: so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these Elephants was about thirteene, or foureteene foote high, which had a small Castle, like a Coach upon his back, covered with Crimson Velvet. In the middle thereof, was a great Bason of Gold, and a peece of Silke exceeding richly wrought to cover it: under which her Majesties letter was put. The Generall was mounted upon another of the Elephants: some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But, when he came to the Court gate, there a Noble man stayed the Generall, till he had gone in, to know the Kings further pleasure. But, presently the said Nobleman returned, and willed the Generall to enter in. And when the Generall came to the Kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the Country: declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie Queene of England, to congratulate with his Highnesse, and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Majestie, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into further discourse, which the King brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long travaile you have taken, I would have you to sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall have whatsoever you will in any reasonable conditions demaund, for your Princesse sake: for she is worthy of all kindnesse, and franke conditions, being a Princesse of great Noblenesse, for Fame speaketh so much of her. The Generall perceiving the Kings mind, delivered him the Queenes letter, which he willingly received: and delivered the same to a Noble man standing by him. Then the Generall proceeded to deliver him his present, which was a Bason of Silver, with a Fountaine

The honorable entertainment of the English Generall by the King of Achen.

in the middest of it, weighing two hundred and five ounces, a great standing Cup of Silver, a rich Looking-Glasse, an Head-peece with a Plume of Feathers, a case of very faire Dagges, a rich wrought embroidered Belt to hang a Sword in, and a Fan of Feathers. All these were received in the Kings presence, by a Nobleman of the Court: onely, he tooke into his owne hand, the Fanne of Feathers: and caused one of his Women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing, that most pleased him of all the rest. The Generall was commanded to sit downe in the Kings presence, as the manner is, upon the ground: where was a very great banquet provided. All the dishes, in which the meate was served in, were, either of pure Gold, or of another Mettall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called Tambaycke, which groweth of Gold and Brasse together. In this banquet, the King (as he sate aloft in a Gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the Generall in their Wine, which they call Racke. This Wine is made of Rice, and is as strong as any of our Aquavitæ: a little will serve to bring one asleepe. The Generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water, the King gave him leave so to doe: for the Generall craved his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the King caused his Damosels to come forth, and dance, and his Women to play Musicke unto them: and these Women were richly attired, and adorned with Bracelets and Jewels: and this they account a great favour, for these are not usually seene of any, but such as the King will greatly honour. The King also gave unto the Generall, a fine white Robe of Calico, richly wrought with Gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two Creses, which are a kind of Daggers, all which a Noble man put on in the Kings presence: and in this manner he was dismissed the Court, with very great curtesies, and one sent along with him, to make choyce of an house in the Citie, where the Generall thought most meete. But, at this time he refused this kindnesse, and rather

The Queenes Presents sent to the King of Achen.

A mettall of great esteeme, called Tambayck.

[I. iii. 154.]

chose to goe aboord his Ships: and left the King to consider of the Queenes Letter, the tenor whereof, hereafter followeth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defendresse of the Christian Faith and Religion.

To the great and mightie King of Achem, &c. in the Iland of Sumatra, our loving Brother, greeting.

THe eternall God, of his divine knowledge and providence, hath so disposed his blessings, and good things of his Creation, for the use and nourishment of Mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding they growe in divers Kingdomes, and Regions of the World: yet, by the industrie of Man (stirred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the universall World. To the end, that even therein may appeare unto all Nations, his marvelous workes, hee having so ordained, that the one land may have need of the other. And thereby, not only breed intercourse and exchange of their Merchandise and Fruits, which doe superabound in some Countries, and want in others: but also ingender love, and friendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally divine.

Whereunto wee having respect (Right noble King) and also to the honorable, and truly royall fame, which hath hither stretched, of your Highnesse humane and noble usage of Strangers, which repaire into that your Kingdome, in love and peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customes. Wee have beene mooved to give Licence unto these our Subjects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your Kingdome: Notwithstanding, the dangers and miseries of the Sea, naturall to such a Voyage, which (by the grace of God) they will make, beeing the greatest that is to be made in

the World: and to present trafficke unto your Subjects. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such love and grace, as wee hope for, of so great and magnanimious a Prince: Wee, for them, doe promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall have cause to repent thereof, but rather to rejoyce much. For their dealing shall be true, and their conversation sure, and wee hope, that they will give so good proofe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetuall confirmation, of love betwixt our Subjects on both parts: by carrying from us, such things and merchandise as you have need of there. So that your Highnesse shall be very well served, and better contented, then you have heretofore beene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our Enemies: who only, and none else, of these Regions, have frequented those your, and the other Kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdomes and Provinces: as their owne Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their loftie Title in their writings. The contrarie whereof, hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your Highnesse, and your royall Familie, Fathers, and Grandfathers, have (by the grace of God, and their Valour) knowne, not onely to defend your owne Kingdomes: but also to give Warres unto the Portugals, in the Lands which they possesse: as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575. under the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse Crowne and Kingdome.

And now, if your Highnesse shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and under your royall Protection and Defence, these our Subjects, that they may freely doe their businesse now, and continue yeerely hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chiefe of this Fleet of foure Ships, hath order (with your Highnesse Licence) to leave certaine Factors, with a setled House of Factorie in your Kingdome, untill the going thither of another Fleet, which

shall goe thither upon the returne of this. Which left Factors, shall learne the Language, and customes of your Subjects, whereby, the better and more lovingly to converse with them.

And the better to confirme this Confederacie, and Friendship betwixt us, wee are contented, if your Highnesse be so pleased, that you cause Capitulations reasonable [I. iii. 155.] to be made: and that this Bearer doe the like in Our name. Which wee promise to performe royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments which he will communicate unto you: to whom, wee doe greatly desire your Highnesse to give intire faith and credite, and that you will receive him, and the rest of his companie, under your Royall protection, favouring them in what shall be Reason and Justice. And we promise on our behalfe, to re-answer in like degree, in all that your Highnesse shall have need, out of these our Kingdomes, And wee desire, that your Highnesse would be pleased to send us answere, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that wee may thereby understand of your Royall acceptance of the Friendship and League, which wee offer, and greatly desire, may have an happie beginning, with long yeeres to continue.

AT his next going to the Court, hee had long Conference with the King, concerning the effect of the Queenes Letter, wherewith the King seemed to be very well pleased, and said: if the contents of that Letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the League, Her Majestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And, for the further demands the Generall made from Her, in respect of the Merchants trafficke: he had committed all those points to two of his Noblemen, to conferre with him, and promised, what Her Majestie had requested, should by all good meanes bee granted. With this contented answere, after another Banquet appointed for the General, he departed the Court. And the next day, he sent to those Noble-

men, the King had named to him, to know their appointed time, when they would sit upon this Conference. The one of these Noblemen was the chiefe Bishop of the Realme, a man of great estimation with the King, and all the people: and so he well deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient Nobilitie, a man of very good gravitie: but, not so fit to enter into those Conferences as the Bishop was.

As the Turke hath his Mufti, so other Mahumetan Princes have their Chiefe Priests in all Countries of that profession.

A day, and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the Conferences passed in the Arabicke Tongue, which both the Bishop and the other Nobleman well understood. Now, the Generall before his going out of England intertained a Jew, who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demands, the Generall made touching Freedomes for the Merchants, the Bishop said unto him: Sir, what reasons shall we shew to the King, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant these things which you have demanded to be granted by him? to whom the Generall answered with these reasons following.

Great use of the Arabian Tongue.

Her Majesties mutuall Love. 1.

Her worthinesse in protecting others against the King of Spaine the common Enemie of these parts. 2.

Her noble mind which refused the offer of those Countries. 3.

Nor will shee suffer any Prince to exceed her in kindnesse. 4.

Whose Forces have exceeded the Spaniards in many Victories. 5.

And hindred the Portugals attempts against these parts. 6.

The Grand-Signor of Turkie hath alreadie entred into League with her Majestie on honorable conditions. 7.

Reasons of another kind.

Moreover, it is not unknowne to the King, what prosperitie, Trade of Merchandise bringeth to all Lands: 8.

with increase of their revenues, by the Custome of these Commerces.

9. Also Princes grow into the more renowme and strength, and are the more feared, for the wealth of their Subjects, which by the concurse of Merchandises grow and increase.

10. And the more kindly that Strangers are entertained, the more the Trade doth grow. The Prince is thereby much enriched also.

11. And for Achem, in particular, this Port lieth well, to answere to the Trade of all, Bengala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places having vent of their Merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them. So that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the Kings Crowne, will greatly increase, to the decrease, and diminishing of all the Portugals Trade, and their great Forces in the Indies.

12. And, if it shall happen, that his Majestie wanteth any Artificers, hee may have them out of our Kingdome, giving them content for their travaile: and free course to goe, as they have good will to come. And any other necessarie, that our Countrie bringeth forth, and may spare, shall be at the Kings command and service.

But, I hope his Majestie will not urge any demands more, then her Majestie may willingly consent unto: or that shall be contrarie to her Honour and Lawes, and the League she hath made with all Christian Princes her neighbours.

Further, the Generall demanded, that his Majestie would cause present Proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed, that although there were a strict order, that none of their owne people might walke by night: yet ours, might goe both night and day, without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours abroad at unlawfull houres, the Justice brought them home to the Generals house, and there delivered them.

After these conferences ended, the Bishop demanded of the Generall, notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priviledges he demanded in her Majesties name for the Merchants, and hee would shew them to the King: and within few dayes, he should have his Majesties answere to them. And with these conferences, and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome: they broke up for that time. [I. iii. 156.]

The Generall was not negligent, to send his demands to the noble men, which (for the most part) were drawne out before hand: for, he was not unreadie for these businesses, before he came aland in the Kingdome.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the King, beholding the Cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this King delighteth in) hee sent his Interpreter with his obeisance to the King, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, whereof hee had conferred with his Noblemen. Whereupon, he called the Generall unto him, and told him, that hee was carefull of his dispatch: and would willingly enter into Peace and League with her Majestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for those Demands and Articles, he had set downe in writing, they should be all written againe, by one of his Secretaries, and should have them authorized by him. Which within five or six dayes, were delivered the Generall, by the Kings owne hands, with many good and gracious words: the Tenor of which League and Articles of Peace, are too long to be inserted. According to their desires, was to the English granted, First, Free entry and trade. Secondly, Custome free, whatsoever they brought in, or carried forth: and assistance with their vessels and shipping, to save our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, Libertie of Testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please. Fourthly, Stability of bargaines and orders for payment by the subjects of Achen, &c. Fiftly, Authority to execute justice on their owne men offending. Sixtly, Justice against

Cock-fighting in Achen.

injuries from the Natives. Seventhly, Not to arrest or stay our goods, or set prizes on them. Eightly, Freedome of Conscience.

This League of Peace and Amitie being setled, the Merchants continually went forward, providing Pepper for the lading of the ships: but there came in but small store, in respect of the last yeeres sterility. So by some of them he understood of a Port, about an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence, in the South part of the same Iland, called Priaman, where he might lade one of his smaller ships. Then he prepared the Susan, and placed for Captaine and chiefe Merchant in her, M. Henry Middleton.

Henry Middleton.

Captaine John Davis. This was his second voyage to the Indies. In the third with Sir E. Mich, he was slaine, as before is shewed.

He was also not a little grieved, that Captaine John Davis his principall Pilot, had told the Marchants before our comming from London, that Pepper was to be had here for foure Spanish royals of eight the hundred; and it cost us almost twentie. The Generall, daily grew full of thought, how to lade his shippes to save his owne credit, the Merchants estimation that set him a worke, and the reputation of his Countrey: considering what a foule blot it would be to them all, in regard of the nations about us, seeing there were merchandise enough to be bought in the Indies, yet he should be likely to returne home with empty ships.

Besides the Portugall Embassador had a diligent eye over every steppe we trode, but was no whit accepted of the King. For the last day of his beeing at the Court, he had demanded of the King, to settle a Factorie in his Countrey, and to build a Fort at the comming in of the Harbour: his reason was, for the more securitie of the Marchants goods, because the City was subject to fire.

Discontent betwixt the Portugals and the King.

But the King perceiving what he meant, gave him this answer backe againe: Hath your Master (saith he) a Daughter to give unto my Sonne, that he is so carefull of the preservation of my Countrey? He shall not neede to be at so great a charge, as the building of a Fort: for I have a fit house about two leagues from this Citie,

within the Land, which I will spare him to supply his Factorie withall: where they shall not need to feare either enemies or fire, for I will protect him. Hereupon the King was much displeased at this insolent demand: and the Embassadour went from the Court much discontented.

§. IIII.

Portugall wiles discovered, a Prize taken neere Malacca.

SHortly after this, there came to our house, an Indian (to sell Hennes) which was appertaining to a Portugall Captaine, who came to that Port with a Ship laden with Rice, out of the Port of Bengala. This Captaine lay in the Embassadors house, and the Generall mistrusted, he came only for a Spy to see, and perceive what we did: and yet he gave commandement, he should be well intreated, and they should alwayes buy his Hennes, and give him a reasonable price for them. At last, he himselfe tooke occasion, pleasantly to commune with the Indian, whence hee was, and of what Countrey; saying, A young man of his presence, merited some better meanes then buying and selling of Hennes. Sir, said he, I serve this Portugall Captaine, yet am neither bound, nor free: but beeing free borne, I have beene with him so long time, that now he partly esteemeth me as his owne: and so great they are, that wee cannot strive with them. Then said the Generall unto him; If thy liberty be precious unto thee, thy person meriteth it. But what wouldst thou doe for him, that would give thee thy libertie without pleading with thy Master for it? Sir, [I. iii. 157.] said the Indian, Freedome is as precious as life, and my life I would adventure for him that should do it. Proove me therefore in any service that I can doe for you, and my willingnesse shall soone make good what I have said. Well, said the Generall, thou hast willed me to proove whether thou meanest truely, or no. I would aske of thee, What the Embassador saith of me, and my shipping which

Portugal subtleties retorted.

A Spy for the Portugal discovered.

I have in this place; and what pretences he hath? Sir, said the Indian, he hath had a Spie aboord of all your Ships, a Chinese, who is continually conversant with your people: so that he hath a draught drawne, not onely of your ships, and their greatnesse; but also of every Piece of Ordnance that each ship hath, and how they are placed, and the number of your men that are in them. And he findeth your ships strong, and well appointed; But by reason of the sickenesse that hath been in them, they are but weake of men, and easie to be taken, if any force come upon them on the suddaine: and within few dayes, he meaneth to send his draughts to Malacca, for force to attempt your ships as they ride. The Generall laughed pleasantly to heare these things, saying; The Embassador was not so idle as he thought him: for hee well knoweth (said he) that I care little for all the forces of these parts. It is but to make thee, and the rest that are about him beleeve, that you are stronger then you be. But goe thy way, and be here once in a day or twaine, and tell me whether the Embassadour goe forward in his proceedings, and when those Messengers shall depart with the plots thou speakest of. And although it will benefit me little to know these things, yet I will give thee thy libertie for thy good will thou shewest therein, as I have promised thee to doe. This Indian went away very well contented, as any man might easily perceive by his countenance, and the lightnesse of his pace. Now, when he was gone, the Generall turned about, and said to me: We have met with a fit man to betray his Master, if we can make any benefit of the treason. And surely, he was not deceived in his opinion: for by this meanes, whatsoever the Embassadour did all the day, we had it either that night, or (at the furthest) the next day in the morning. And this Fellow carried the matter so warily, that he was neither mistrusted of any of the Embassadors house, nor knowne to any of ours, what businesse he went about. For he had the right conditions of a Spie, being wily, fearefull, carefull, subtill, and never trusting any to

heare what conference he had with the Generall: but delivered his minde unto him alone, and that in such carelesse sort, as if hee had answered the Generall idlely, whatsoever he demanded of him: for he stood in feare of our owne people, least they would bewray the selling of his Hennes, which covered all his comming and going to our House.

The forces of the King of Sumatra.

The next day, the Generall was sent for to the Court, and the King had conference with him, about an Embassage that the King of Siam had sent him touching the conquest of Malacca: and with what force he would assist him by Sea, if he undertooke that service. For this King of Sumatra, is able to put a very great force of Gallies to Sea, if he may have but some foure or five moneths warning before-hand, to make them ready. This conference the Generall furthered with many reasons, and tooke an occasion to enter into talke of the Spanish Embassadour, how insolently proud he carried himselfe: and that his comming into his Majesties Kingdome and Court, was for no other purpose, but onely as a Spie, to see and discover the strength of his Kingdome. I know it well (said the King,) for they are enemies of mine, as I have beene to them: but what causeth thee to see this? The Generall answered him; That he could take nothing in hand, but his Spies attended upon him, to marke what he went about, and to what ende. And among other things (saith he) he had taken a draught of his ships, and meaneth to send it to Malacca: and to procure forces to set upon him at unawares. The King smiled to heare the Generall mention these things, and said; Thou needest not feare any strength that shall come from Malacca: for all the strength they have there, is able to doe thee no harme. The Generall answered, I doe not (said he) feare their strength, what they can doe to me: but it may be much to my hinderance, that they understanding the time I meane to goe to Sea, they shall thereby bee advised to keepe themselves within their Ports, so that I shall not be able to offend them. Is it so, said the King? Yea,

said the Generall, and therefore I would intreat your Majestie, to make stay of two of the Embassadors servants that are now going to Malacca, within these few dayes, who take not their passage from hence: but will goe to another Port of yours, and there hire a Barke, to transport them thence, because they will be sure not to be intercepted. And if your Majestie intercept them there, you shall be privy to some of their plots and pretences. Well, said the King, let me understand of their departure from hence, and thou shalt see what I will doe for thee. So, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, well contented, and had daily conference with his Merchant that sold Hennes: so that there was not anything done, or said in the Embassadors house, but he was privy to it.

Now the time was come, that the Embassadors two servants were to depart with their plots, and their Masters Letters: and they went down to a Port about five and twentie leagues from Achen. But the Generall was not slacke to advise the King thereof, who had given order before: so that at their comming thither, and when they had hired their passage, and had imbarked themselves with all their Letters, and were going over the Barre, a mile from the Citie, a Frigget went after them, and caused the Barke [I. iii. 158.] to strike sayle, that the Justice might see, what their lading was. And when the Justice came aboord, and saw two Portugals there, he asked them from whence they came, and whether they were going: they answered, They came from Achem, and belonged to the Portugall Embassadour. Nay, said the Justice, but you have robbed your Master, and runne away like theeves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him, from whom you are fled, and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly, and searching of them, they lost their plots, and their letters, and their Trunkes were broken open: and they sent to Achem, bound backe againe to the Court, to be delivered to the Embassador, if they did belong unto him. The Generall had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court, the King

called him unto him, and said: Now what sayest thou, art thou contented? The Generall made him obeisance, and gave him humble and heartie thanks for his clemencie, and kindnesse towards him: and with some other conference, the Generall departed for that time. The Marchant of Hennes came daily following his Merchandize, and as the Generall suspected, and he himselfe afterward confessed, not without his Masters consent; to advise from us, as well as he advised from his Master.

But now the Summer was past, and September came, the time that the Generall meant to goe to sea to seeke meanes to supply his necessities: and now fell out the greatest Crosse of all to his pretence. The Embassador himselfe had his dispatch from the King to be gone. Which the Generall knowing, went to the Court, and where the King sate, seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his Interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to heare a certain request which he had unto his Majestie. Whereupon the King immediately called for him, and demanded what he would have him to doe. It hath pleased your Highnesse, said the Generall, to doe me many curtesies, and therefore I am further imboldened, to proceed to request one kindnesse more at your Majesties hands. What is that (said the King, smiling) are there more Portugals going to Malacca, to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the Generall the Embassador himselfe (as I am given to understand) hath your Majesties dispatch to be gone at his pleasure: and is determined to depart within five dayes. And what wouldst thou have me to doe, said the King? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be gone forth with my ships. Well, said the King, and laughed, thou must bring me a faire Portugall maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the Generall tooke his leave, and departed; and hasted all that he could to be gone. For he had left the Merchants behind him, and under the protection of the King till his returne: and in the meane time to buy what Pepper they could, to helpe to furnish

the Ascentions lading, which was now more then three parts laden. But the Generall would not leave her behind him, riding in the Port, but tooke her in his company: for she road but in an open place. All the three ships were made readie, and there was a Captaine of a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the Generall that he might goe to sea in his company, and take part of his adventure; his ship was above two hundred Tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe, as we; and therefore refused no consort. So the Generall was contented to give him $\frac{1}{8}$. of what should be taken, and hee rested therewith contented. The Generall having taken his leave of the King, and presented two of the chiefe Merchants unto him, M. Starkie, and M. Styles, the King graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these Merchants with some others, were left behind (as I said before) for the providing of such Pepper, as was there to be had, against the returne of the ships from the Sea. The ships being ready, we set sayle the eleventh of September, toward the Straights of Malacca.

This was Captaine of a ship of Holland, called Speilberge.

English favour to the Hollander.

Now, let me tell you how the King dealt with the Embassadour of Portugall, after our departure, which every day urged his dispatch to be gone: but still, upon one occasion or other, his passage was deferred. At last (foure and twenty daies after our departure) the King said unto him: I marvaile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English Embassadour is abroad at the Sea with his shipping? If he meete you, he will be able to wrong you, and doe you violence. I care little for him, said the Embassadour, for my Friget is so nimble with Saile and Oares, that if I have but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest so assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This service came well to passe for us, for if he had gone away in time, such advise would have beene given from Malacca, by Frigots into the Straights, that all shippes would have had warning of us: but (by this

The Kings subtile dealing with the Portugals.

meanes) we lay within five and twentie leagues of Malacca it selfe, and were never descryed, whereby to be prevented. The third day of October, we being in the Straights of Malacca, laying off and on, the Hector espyed a Sayle, and calling to the rest of the shippes, we all discried her. And being toward night, a present direction was given, that we should all spread our selves a mile and a halfe, one from another, that she might not passe us in the night. The shippe fell with the Hector, that first espied her, and presently she called unto her, and shot off two or three peeces of Ordnance: so that the rest of the shippes had intelligence, and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great Ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the Admirals ship came up, he discharged sixe peeces together out of his Prow: and then her maine yard fell downe. After that she shot no more, nor any of our shippes, fearing least some unfortunate shot might light betweene wind and water, and so sinke her, (for the Generall was very carefull) so the fight ceased till the morning. At the breake of day, the Captaine with some of the rest, entred their Boate, and the Hector being next her, called them to come aboord him: and Maister John Middleton the Captaine, being Vice-Admirall, brought the Boate and Captaine aboord the Generall, to whom they rendered their shippe and goods. The Generall presently caused all the chiefe men of the Prize, to be placed aboord our shippes, and onely placed but foure of our men aboord the Prize: for feare of rifling, & pillaging the good things that were within her; and those foure suffered none other to come aboord. And their charge was, if any thing should be missing, to answer the same out of their wages and shares: for when the shippe was unladen, the Boateswaine and the Marriners of the same shippe, did wholly unlade her, and none of ours came within her to doe any labour. Onely they received the goods into their Boates, and carried them aboord such shippes, as the Generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order, there was neither rifling,

This was the Carack of S. Thome in India.

[I. iii. 159.]

The Caracke yeelded to the English.

Care to avoyd rifling and spoile.

theeving, pillaging, or spoiling, which otherwise would hardly have beene avoyded in such businesse as this.

Goods taken in the Prize.

Within five or sixe daies, we had unladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of Calicoes, and Pintados, besides many packets of Merchandize: she had in her much Rice, and other goods, whereof we made small account. Now a storme arising, all their men were set aboord, and we left her, riding at an Anchor. This shippe came from a place called Saint Thoma, that lyeth in the Bay of Bengala, and was going for Malacca. When we intercepted her, she had in her above sixe hundred persons, Men, Women, and Children: her burthen was nine hundred tuns.

His care to prevent suspicion.

The Generall would never goe aboord to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion, both from the Mariners that were there, and the Merchants that were at London, least they might charge, or suspect him for any dishonest dealing, by helping himselfe thereby. He was very glad of this good hap, and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God, that had eased him of a very heavy care, and that hee could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing given him. For, saith he, he hath not onely supplied my necessities, to lade these ships I have: but hath given me as much as will lade as many more shippes as I have, if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather, where I shall leave these goods that I have, more then enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of England.

A great Spout of water.

The one and twentieth of October, our shippes returned out of the Straights of Malacca for Achen, where by the way a great Spout of water came powring out of the Heavens, and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these Spouts came powring downe like a river of water, so that if they should light in any ship, she were in danger to be presently sunck downe into the Sea: it falleth with such an extreame violence, all whole together, as one drop, or as water powred out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a quarter of an howre together, so

that the Sea boyleth with froth, of an exceeding height, by the violence of the fall of the Spoute.

§. V.

Their Present to and from the King: His Letters to Queene Elizabeth: Their departure for Priaman and Bantam, and setling a Trade there.

THe foure and twentieth of October, we cast our Anchors in the Port of Achen in Sumatra, where the Generall went a shore, and found all the Merchants well, and in safety: who gave great commendations of their good, and kind entertainment received from the King, in the Generals absence. Wherefore, the Generall willing to gratifie the King, with such things as he had taken in the Prize, sorted out a present of divers things, that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court, presented them unto him. The King received the Present, and welcomed the Generall, and seemed to be very joyfull, for the good successe he had against the Portugall: and jestingly said, hee had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was, the faire Portugall Maiden, he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the Generall answered: that there was none so worthy, that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the King smiled, and said: If there be any thing heere in my kingdome may pleasure thee, I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this, the Generall commaunded the Merchants to put aboord the Ascention, all such Pepper, Cinamon, and Cloves, as they had bought in his absence: which was scarcely the ships full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that yeare to be hoped for. And therefore, he willed the Merchants to put all their things aboord the ships, for his resolution was to depart from thence, and goe for Bantam in Java major, where he understood both of good sale for his commodi-

Returne to Achen.

ties, and great returne of Pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price, then they could buy it at [I. iii. 160.] Achen. This determination once knowne, all men hasten to put their things aboord. So the Generall made the King privy to his departure, and went to the Court, and had long conference with him, who delivered him a Letter for her Majestie, written in the Arabian tongue: The Tenor whereof, is as followeth.

The Letter of the King of Achen, to the Queene of England.

GLorie be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his Workes, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in Power and Majestie: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantasme: no bound may containe him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is over all his goodnesse in the Creature: He hath beene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and since that often, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferiour unto none. For this Citie, which is not slacke to shew their love, hath manifested it, in the entertainment of that societie, which filleth the Horizons with joy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a signe, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is just, with purpose for exchange; and they themselves of honest carriage, and their kindnesse great in doing good in generall to the Creatures, helping the Creature in prosperitie and adversitie joyntly, giving liberally unto the poore, and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preserving the Creature to their uttermost with a willing mind: which for them now is extended unto India and * Arach; sending forth the chiefest men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the creatures to counsaile herein.

* *Or Carmania.*

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the Kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Friseland:

God continue that Kingdome and that Empire long in prosperitie.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these Letters, from the King of the Kingdome of * Ashey, who doth rule there with an absolute power; And for that there came unto Us a good report of you, declared and spread very joyfully by the mouth of Captaine James Lancaster, (God continue his welfare long.) And for that you doe record that in your Letters, there are commendations unto us and that your Letters are Patent Priviledges. Almightie God advance the purpose of this Honorable consociation, and confirme this worthy league.

* *Or Achen.*

And for that you doe affirme in them, that the Sultan of * Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to your people, in what place soever he be, from the first untill now, and for that he hath lift up himselfe proudly, and set himselfe as King of the world: yet what is he besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our joy increased, and our societie confirmed: for that he and his Company are our enemies in this world, and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soever we shall meete them, a publicke death.

* *Or Spaine.*

And moreover, you doe affirme, that you desire peace and friendship with us. To God be praise and thankes for the greatnesse of his Grace. This therefore is our serious Will, and Honourable Purpose truely in this Writing, That you may send from your people unto Our * Ports, to Trade and to Traffique; and that whosoever shall be sent unto Us in your Highnesse Name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a joynt Company, and of common priviledges. For this Captaine and his Company, so soone as they came unto us, we have made them of an absolute societie: And we have incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we have graunted them Liberties, and have shewed them the best course of Traffique: And to manifest unto men, the love and brother-hood betweene

* *Or Bandar.*

us and you in this world. There is sent by the hand of this Captaine, according to the custome, unto the famous * Citie, a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his sete, two vestures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, inclosed in a red Boxe of * Tzin.

** Of London.*

** Or China.*

** That is, by Computation of time.*

Written in * Tarich of the yeere 1011. of Mahomet. Peace be unto you.

Translated out of the Arabick, by WILLIAM BEDWEL.

FOr a Present to her Majestie, he sent three faire Cloathes richly wrought with Gold, of very cunning worke, and a very faire Rubie in a Ring: and gave to the Generall another Ring, and a Rubie in it. And when the Generall tooke his leave, the King said unto him: have you the Psalmes of David extant among you? the Generall answered: yea, and wee sing them daily. Then said the King: I, and the rest of these Nobles about me, will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended, the King said: I would heare you sing another Psalme, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelve of us, we sung another Psalme; And after the Psalme ended, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, the King shewing him much kindnesse at his departure: desiring God to blesse us in our journey, and to guide us safely into our owne Countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this Port, you shall find as good usage as you have done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of November, being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascention. We kept company two dayes, in which time the Generall dispatched his Letters for England, and sent away the Ascention, she setting her course homeward, toward the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and we, along the Coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam: to see if wee could meete with the Susan, which had order to lade upon that Coast.

Psalmes of David knowne to the Mahumetans.

[I. iii. 161.]

As we sayled along the Coast of Sumatra, we sodainly fell among certaine Ilands in the night: and the day

Dangerous Flats.

approching, wee marvelled how wee came in among them, without seeing any of them. They were all low landed, and full of Flattes and Rockes, so that wee were in great danger, before we could cleere our selves of them: but thankes be to God, who delivered us from many other dangers, as he did also deliver us from these. So holding on our course from Priaman, we passed the Equinoctiall Line the third time, and came thither the six and twentieth of November, and found the Susan there, which the Generall had sent before from Achen, to lade there. Now, when they saw us, they were very glad of our comming, and had provided toward their lading, some six hundred Bahars of Pepper, and sixtie sixe Bahars of Cloves. Heere our Pepper cost us lesse then at Achen, but there is none growing about this Port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the Countrey, from a place called Manangcabo. This place hath no other Merchandise growing there; only, there is good store of Gold in Dust, and small graines, which they wash out of the Sands of Rivers: after the great flouds of Raine, that fall from the Mountaines, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing, and is very wholsome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the Line. At this Port having refreshed our selves with the good ayre, fresh victuals and water, the Generall gave Commission to the Captaine of the Susan, to make what haste he could for his lading, which would bee accomplished with some hundred Bahars of Pepper, and so to depart for England. And the fourth day of December, we tooke our course toward Bantam, in the Iland of Java major: and we entred the Straights of Sunda, the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor under an Iland, three leagues from Bantam, called Pulopansa.

Priaman.

Manangcabo.

Store of Gold in Dust.

The Susan first sent home.

December the fourth, 1602. they depart from Priaman.

The next day in the morning, we entred the Road of Bantam, and shot off a very great peale of Ordnance out of the Dragon, being our Admirall, and out of the Hector: such an one as had never beene rung there, before that day. The next day in the morning, the Generall sent his

They arrive in the Road of Bantam.

Vice-Admirall, Captaine John Middleton á land, with a Message to the King: declaring, that hee was sent by the Queene of England, and had both a Message and a Letter to deliver to his Majestie from her, and required his Majesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land, to deliver the same. The King returned him word, that hee was very glad of his comming, and sent backe a Nobleman with Captaine Middleton, to welcome the Generall, and to accompany him a-land. The Generall tooke some sixteene men in his company, and went a-land with the Nobleman to the Court: where he found the King (being but a child of ten or eleven yeares of age) sitting in a round-house; with some sixteene or eighteene Noblemen of the Countrey about him, in some reasonable estate. The Generall did his obeysance, and the King welcommed him very kindly. And after the Generall had had some conference about his message, hee delivered to the Kings hand, her Majesties Letter, with a Present of Plate, and some other things withall: which the King received with a smiling countenance, and referred the Generall (for further conference) to one of his Nobles, who was then Protector. After some houre and an halfes conference had of many things, the said Nobleman (as from the King) received the Generall under the Kings protection, and all his Company: willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kinde of molestation, for there he should be as safe, as if he were in his owne Countrey: and to this, all the Nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of divers things, which (for brevities sake) I omit to trouble the Reader withall: for, my purpose is to shew the effect of this first setling of the Trade in the East-Indies, rather then to particularize of them. The Generall, after his kind welcome and conference had, took his leave of the King, and the rest of his Nobles: and presently gave order for the providing of housing, whereof the King willed him to make his best choice wheresoever he would. So, within two dayes, the Merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but, one of the Kings

The King of Bantam a child of 10. *or* 11. *yeares of age.*

The Queenes Letter and Present to the K. of Bantam.

Trade began.

Nobles came to the Generall, and said, it was the custome of that place, that the King should buy, and furnish himselfe, before the Subjects should buy any thing. The Generall was well contented, for he was advised, that he would give a reasonable price, and pay very well. The King being served, the Merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some five weekes, much more was sold there in goods, then would have laden our two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seventie sixe bagges of Pepper. These contayned sixtie two pound waight a piece, and cost at first penny 5.½. Rials of eight the piece, beside our anchorage, and the Kings Custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost us (by agreement the Generall made with the Savendar, or Governour of the Citie) fifteene hundred Rials of eight, and one Riall of eight upon every bagge of custome. Wee traded heere very peaceably, although the Javians be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Theeves of the World. But the Generall had commission from the King (after hee had received an abuse or two) that whosoever he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after foure or five were thus slaine, we lived in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a carefull watch. As we went buying Pepper, we sent it aboord, so that by the tenth of February, our ships were fully laden, and readie to depart, But, in this meane time, the Captaine of the Hector, Master John Middleton, fell sicke aboord his ship, in the Roade (for the Generall observed this from the beginning of the Voyage, that if he himselfe were ashore, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall kept aboord, because both should not be from their charge at one time.) The Generall hearing of his sicknesse, went aboord to visit him, and found him weaker, then hee himselfe felt, which experience had taught him to know in these hot Countries. And so it happened with Captaine Middleton then walking up and downe, who dyed about two of the clocke next morning.

A Riall of 8. is foure shillings six pence sterling.

[I. iii. 162.]

The death of Captaine John Middleton.

Now, the Generall began to put all things in order, and hasten his departure, and appointed a Pinnasse of about fortie tunnes (which he had) to bee laden with Commodities, and put in her twelve men with certaine Merchants, and sent her for the Moluccas: to trade there and settle a Factorie, against the returne of the next shipping out of England. Moreover, he left eight men: and three Factors in Bantam, the chiefe of which Factors, was Master William Starkey, whom he appointed to sell such Commodities as were left them: and to provide lading for the shippes, against the next returne. Also the Generall went to the Court to take his leave of the King, where he received a Letter for her Majestie, and a Present for her, of certaine Bezar-stones, very faire, and to the Generall he gave a very faire Java Dagger, which they much esteeme there, and a good Bezar-stone with some other things. And thus the Generall tooke his leave of the King, with many kind countenances and good words.

A Pinnasse of 40. tunne, with 12. men sent to the Moluccas.

A Factory setled in Bantam.

A Letter and Present from the King of Bantam to the Queene.

§. VI.

Their departure for England, and occurrents in the way.

The twentieth of Februarie, they returne for England.

THe twentieth day of Februarie, we went all aboord our ships, shot off our Ordnance, and set sayle to the Sea toward England, with thankes to God, and glad hearts, for his blessings towards us. The two and twentieth and three and twentieth of the same moneth, wee were in the Straights of Sunda, and the sixe and twentieth wee were cleere of all the Iles that lye in those Straights, and cleere of all the land holding our course South-west, so that the eight and twentieth, wee were in eight degrees and fortie minutes to the South of the Line.

They double the Tropick of Capricorne.

Upon Sunday the thirteenth of March, wee were past the Tropicke of Capricorne, holding our course, for the most part, South-west, with a stiffe gale of wind at South-east. The fourteenth day of Aprill, wee were in thirtie foure degrees, judging the Land of Madagascar to be North of

us. The eight and twentieth day we had a very great and a furious storme, so that we were forced to take in all our Sayles. This storme continued a day and a night, with an exceeding great and raging Sea, so that, in the reason of man no shippe was able to live in them: but God (in his mercie) ceased the violence thereof, and gave us time to breath: and to repaire all the distresses and harmes we had received, but our ships were so shaken, that they were leakie all the Voyage after.

A terrible storme.

The third of May, wee had another very sore storme which continued all the night, and the Seas did so beate upon the ships quarter, that it shooke all the Iron worke of her Rother: and the next day in the morning, our Rother brake cleane from the sterne of our shippe, and presently sunke into the Sea. This strooke a present feare into the hearts of all men, so that the best of us, and most experienced, knew not what to doe. And specially, seeing our selves in such a tempestuous Sea, and so stormie a place, so that, I thinke, there bee few worse in all the World. Now our ship drave up and downe in the Sea like a wracke, which way soever the wind carried her: so that sometimes we were within three or foure leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, then commeth a contrary wind, and driveth us almost to fortie degrees to the Southward into the hayle and snow, and sleetie cold weather. And this was another great miserie unto us, that pinched us exceeding sore, so that our case was miserable and very desperate. Yet all this while the Hector kept by us carefully, the company whereof was some comfort unto us: and many times the Master of the Hector came aboord our shippe, so at the last, it was concluded to take our misen Mast, and put it forth at the sterne Port, to prove if wee could steere our shippe into some place where we might make another Rother to hang it, to serve our turnes home. But this device was to small purpose, for when we had fitted it, and put it forth (the Seas being somewhat growne with lifting up the Mast) it did so shake the sterne, and put all in such danger, that it was needfull to make

They lose their Rother in a storme.

Almost 40. degrees of South Latitude.

all convenient haste, to get the Mast into the ship againe: which we were very glad when we had brought it to passe. Now we were without all remedie, unlesse we made a new Rother, and could bring it to passe to hang it in the Sea: which to performe let every man judge how easie a thing it was, our ship being of seven or eight hundred tunnes, and in so dangerous a Sea as this was: but necessitie compelleth [I. iii. 163.] to proove all meanes. Then the Generall commanded the Carpenter to make a Rother of the said misen Mast, to proove what wee could doe: but this barre fell in our way; that, at such time as wee lost our Rother, wee lost also the most of our Rother irons, wherewith to fasten the Rother. But yet, wee went forward, and made all the haste we could, and one of our men dived, to search what Rother irons remayned, who found but two, and one that was broken, to helpe us withall. Yet, by Gods helpe, finding a faire day, wee made fast the said Rother, and sailed on our course homewards: But, within three or foure houres, the Sea tooke it off againe, and wee had much adoe to save it, and with the saving of it, wee lost an other of our irons, so that now, we had but two to hang it by: and our men began to be desirous to leave the Ship, and goe into the Hector to save themselves. Nay, said the Generall, wee will yet abide Gods leasure, to see what mercie he will shew us: for I despaire not to save our selves, the Ship and the goods, by one meanes or other, as God shall appoint us. And with that, he went into his Cabbin, and wrote a Letter for England, purposing to send it by the Hector, commanding her to depart, and leave him there: but, not one of the companie knew of this command. The Letter was very briefe, and the tenour litle more or lesse, as followeth.

A Letter in a desperate case sent for England.

RIght worshipfull, what hath passed in this Voyage, and what Trades I have settled for this companie, and what other events have befallen us, you shall understand by the bearers hereof, to whom (as occasion hath fallen) I must referre you. I will strive with all diligence to save

my ship, and her goods, as you may perceive, by the course I take in venturing mine owne life, and those that are with mee. I cannot tell where you should looke for mee, if you send out any Pinnace to seeke mee: because I live at the devotion of the wind and seas. And thus fare you well, desiring God, to send us a merrie meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.

The Passage to the East India lieth in 62.½. degrees, by the North-west on the America side.

Your very loving friend,

JAMES LANCASTER.

THis Letter being delivered, the Generall thought they would have beene gone in the night, according to their Commission: but, when he espied the ship in the morning, he said to me, these men regard no Commission. Now, the ship kept some two or three leagues from us, and came no neerer: for the Master was an honest and a good man, and loved the Generall well, and was loth to leave him in so great distresse. And now, it was time for us to seeke all meanes that could be to save our selves and the ship. Then, the Carpenter mended the Rother we had saved, and within two or three dayes, the weather began to bee somewhat faire, and the seas smooth. So, we put out a signe to the Hector to come neere us, out of which the Master, Master Sander Cole came, and brought the best swimmers, and divers that he had in his ship, who helped us not a little in the businesse wee had to doe. Thus, by Gods good blessing, wee hung our Rother againe, upon the two hookes that were left: so that, we had some good hope to obtaine one Port or other, to relieve our selves withall. Now, wee had beene beaten to and fro, in these mightie seas, and had many more stormes of weather, then are here expressed, somtimes for one whole moneth together, so that our men began to fall sicke and diseased: and the wind fell so short, that wee could fetch no part of the coast of Africa, which was neerest to us. Com-

Master Sander Cole Master of the Hector.

mitting our selves therefore to God, we set saile straight for the Iland of Saint Helena: for, we knew we had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza, by the height wee were in to the Northward. As we were in our course, the Maine-yard fell downe, and strooke one of our men into the sea, and he was drowned. This was the end (God be thanked) of all our hard fortunes.

The fift day of June, wee passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, and the sixteenth in the morning wee had sight of the Iland of Saint Helena: at the sight whereof, there was no small rejoycing among us. Wee bare close along by the shoare, the better to get the best of the Road, in the Harbour, where wee came to an anchor, right against a small Chappell, which the Portugals had built there, long since. Our ships rode in twelve fathom water, which is the best of the Harbor. At our going a shoare, we found by many writings, that the Carrackes of Portugall had departed from thence, but eight dayes before our comming. In this Iland, there is very good refreshing of water, and wild Goats, but they are hard to come by, unlesse good direction be given for the getting of them. And this course our Generall tooke, he appointed foure lusty men, and of the best shot he had, to goe into the Iland, and make their abode in the middest of it, and to every shot, he appointed foure men to attend him, to carrie the Goats that hee killed, to the Rendevous: thither went (every day) twentie men, to fetch home to the ships, what was killed. So there was no hoyting or rumour in the Iland to feare the Goats withall. And by this meanes, the ships were plentifully relieved, and every man contented. While wee stayed here, wee fitted our shipping, and searched our Rother, which wee hoped, would last us home. All our sicke men recovered their health, through the store of Goats and Hogs, wherewith wee had refreshed our selves, having great need of good refreshing: For, in three moneths, wee had seene no land, but were continually beaten in the sea.

They arrive at Saint Helena.

[I. iii. 164.]

The fift day of July, we set saile from this Iland, our

course being Northwest. The thirteenth day, wee passed by an Iland called the Ascention, which standeth in eight degrees. No ships touch at this Iland, for it is altogether barraine, and without water: onely, it hath good store of Fish about it, but deepe water, and ill riding for ships. From hence wee held our course still North-west, the wind being South and South-east, till the nineteenth day, and then, we passed the Æquinoctiall-Line. The foure and twentieth day wee were six degrees to the Northward, at which time, wee judged our selves to be an hundred and fiftie leagues from the Coast of Ginney. Then wee steered away North and by West and North till the nine and twentieth, at which time, wee had sight of the Iland of Fogo. Here, wee were becalmed five dayes, striving to passe to the Eastward of this Iland, but could not: for the wind changed, and came to the North-east, so we stood West North-west.

The Ile of Ascention.

They passe the Æquinoctiall.

The Ile of Fogo.

The seventh day of August, wee were in sixteene degrees, and the twelfth day wee passed the Tropicke of Cancer, that lieth in 23.½. degrees, holding our course Northerly. But the three and twentieth, the wind came Westerly. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Iland of Saint Marie, the wind faire.

The seventh of August. 1603.

The seventh day of September, wee tooke sounding, judging the Lands end of England to be fortie leagues from us. The eleventh day, wee came to the Downes, well and safe to an anchor: for the which, thanked be almightie God, who hath delivered us from infinite perils and dangers, in this long and tedious Navigation.

Chap. IV.

A Discourse of Java, and of the first English Factorie there, with divers Indian, English, and Dutch occurrents, written by Master Edmund Scot, contayning a Historie of things done from the eleventh of Februarie, 1602. till the sixt of October, 1605. abbreviated.

§. I.

The description of Java major, with the manners and fashions of the people, both Javans and Chynæsses, which doe there inhabite.

Java Major, and the Inhabitants.

Ava major, is an Iland which lieth in an hundred and fortie degrees of longitude from the middle part of it, and in the ninth degree of latitude, being also about an hundred fortie and six leagues long, East and West, and some ninetie leagues broad, South and North, the middle part of which Land is for the most part all mountaines, the which are not so steepe, but that people doe travell to the top of them, both on horse-backe, and on foot. Some inhabitants doe dwell upon those hils, which stand next to the Sea, but in the very middle of the Land, so farre as ever I could learne, there are no Inhabitants, but there are wild beasts of divers sorts, whereof some doe repaire neere the valleyes adjoyning to the Sea; and devoure many people. Towards the Sea, for the most part is low moorish ground, wherein stand their principall Townes of Trade, the chiefest whereof lie on the North and North-east side of the Iland, as Chiringin, Bantam, Jackatra, and Jortan or Greesey, The which low ground is very unwholsome, and breedeth many diseases, (especially unto strangers which come thither) and yeeld no merchandise worthy trading for, or speaking of, but Pepper, the which

TheMid-land.

The Cities.

hath beene brought in times past from all places of the Land to Bantam, as the chiefe Mart Towne of the Countrie, which Towne for Trade doth farre exceed Achen, or any Towne or Citie thereabouts; And Pepper was wont to be brought thither from divers other Countries, which of late yeeres is not, by reason that the Dutch-men trade to every place, and buy it up.

Bantam. This Towne of Bantam, is about three English miles in length, also very populous, There are three Markets kept on every day, one in the forenoone, and two in the afternoone: that especially, which is kept in the forenoone, doth so abound with people, that they throng together, as in many Fayers in England. Yet I never saw any kind of Cattell to sell, by reason that there are very few tame in [I. iii. 165.] the Countrey. *Their food.* Their food is altogether Rice, with some Hens, and some Fish, but not much, or in no abundance. *Their houses.* The Javans houses are altogether built of great Canes, and some few small Timbers, being slight buildings: In many of the principall mens houses, is good workmanship shewed, as carvings, &c. And some of the chiefest have a square Brick roome, being built in no better forme then a Brickill, which is onely to put in all their houshold stuffe, when fire commeth, but they seldome or never lodge, nor eate in them. There are many small Rivers running through the Towne: also, there is a good road for shippes, whereby if they were people of any reasonable capacity, it would be made a very goodly Citie, also it is walled round with a Bricke wall, being very warlike built, with Flankers, and Turrets scouring every way. I have beene told by some that it was first built by the Chinesses. In many places it is fallen to decay for want of repairing. At the very end of this Towne, is the China Towne, a narrow River parting them, which runneth crosse the end of the China Towne, up to the Kings Court, and so through the middle of the great Towne, and doth ebbe and flow, so that at a high water, both Gallies and Juncts of great burthen, may goe up to the middle of the great Towne.

The China Towne. This China Towne, is for the most part built of Brick,

every house square, and flat over-head, some of them having Boords, and small Timbers, or split Canes over-crosse, on which are laid Bricks and Sand, to defend them from fire. Over these Bricke Ware-houses is set a shed, being built up with great Canes, and Thatched, and some are built up with small Timber, but the greatest number with Canes onely. Of late yeares, since we came thither, many men of wealth have built their houses to the top, all fire free, of the which sort of houses, at our first comming, there was no more but the Sabindars house, and the rich Chyna Merchants house, which neverthelesse by meanes of their windowes, and sheds round about them, have beene consumed with fire. In this Towne stand the English and Dutch houses, which are built in the same manner, only they are very much bigger, and higher then ordinary houses, and the Dutch-men of late (though with great cost and trouble) have built one of their houses up to the top all of Bricke, fire free, as they suppose.

The Dutch and English houses.

The King and his power.

The King of this place is absolute, and since the deposing and death of the late Emperour of Damacke, is held the principall King of all that Iland: he useth alwaies Marshall law upon any offender whom he is disposed to punish. If any private mans Wife or Wives be taken with dishonesty, so that they have good proofe of it, they cause them presently to be put to death, both the woman, and the man that is taken in Adultery with her. And for their Slaves, they may execute them for any small fault.

Punishment of Adultery.

Costly wives.

To every Wife that a Javan, being a free-man, marrieth, he must keepe ten women-slaves, which they as ordinary use as their wives; and some of them keepe for every wife, fortie slaves, for so they keepe ten: they may have as many more as they will, but they may have but three wives onely.

Javans proud and poore.

The Javans, are generally exceeding proud, although extreame poore, by reason that not one amongst an hundred of them will worke. The Gentlemen of this Land are brought to bee poore, by the number of Slaves that they keepe, which eate faster then their Pepper or

Rice groweth. The Chinois, doe both plant, dresse, and gather the Pepper, and also sowe their Rice, living as Slaves under them, but they sucke away all the wealth of the Land, by reason that the Javans are so idle. And a Javan is so proud, that he will not endure one to sit an inch in height above him, if he be but of the like calling. They are a people that doe very much thirst after blood, yet they will seldome fight face to face one with another, or with any other Nation, but doe altogether seeke revenge of their enemy cowardly, albeit they are for the most part men of a goodly stature. Their law for murther, is to pay a fine to the King, and that but a small summe: but evermore the friends of the party murthered, will be revenged on the murtherer, or his kindred, so that the more they kill one another, the more fines hath their King. Their ordinary weapon which they weare, is called a Crise, it is about two foot in length, the blade being waved, and crooked to and fro, Indenture like, and withall exceeding sharpe, most of them having the temper of their Mettle poysoned, so that not one amongst five hundred that is wounded with them in the body escapeth with his life. The handles of these weapons, are either of horne or wood, curiously carved in the likenesse of a Divell, which many of them doe worship. In their warres, their fight is altogether with Pikes, Darts, and Targets. Of late, some few of them have learned to use their Peeces, but very untowardly.

Chinois frugall.

Punishment of murther.

Their weapons and fights.

The apparell of the better sort, is a tucke on their heads, and about their loynes a faire Pintadoe, all the rest of their bodies naked; sometimes they will weare a close coate, somewhat like a Mandillion, of Velvet, Chamblet, Cloath, or some other kind of Silke: but it is but seldome, and upon some extraordinary occasion. The common sort weare on their head, a flat cap of Velvet, Taffita, or Callico-cloath, the which is cut in many peeces, and seamed with a faire stitch, to make them sit flat and compasse: about their loynes they weare a kind of Callico-cloth, which is made at Clyn, in manner of a silke girdle, but at the least one

Their apparel.

yard broad, being of two colours. Also, there commeth from thence many sorts of white colours, which they themselves do both Dye, Paint and Gild, according to the fashions of that Countrey: Likewise, they can weare a kind of striped stuffe, both of Cotten, and Rindes of trees, [I. iii. 166.] but by meanes of their lasinesse, there is very little of that worne. The men for the most part, have very thicke curled haire on their heads, in which they take great pride, and often will goe bare-headed to shew their haire: the women goe all bare-headed, some of them having their haire tucked up, like a Cart-horse taile, but the better sort doe tucke it up, like our riding Geldings tailes. About their loynes they weare the same stuffes, which I have before mentioned, alwaies having a faire Girdle or Pintado, of their Countrey fashion, throwne over on their shoulders, which hangeth downe loose behind them.

Their head & head-tire.

Their religion. The principall of them are most religious, but they very seldome goe to Church: They doe acknowledge Christ to be a great Prophet, whom they call Naby Isa, and some of them doe keepe of Mahomets Priests in their houses, but the common people have very little knowledge in any Religion, onely they say, there is a God which made heaven and earth, and them also. He is good they say, and will not hurt them, but the Divell is naught, and will doe them hurt, wherefore many of them for want of knowledge doe pray to him, onely for feare lest he should hurt them. And surely if there were men of learning, which were perfect in their language to instruct them, a number of them would be drawne to the true faith of Christ, and also would be brought to civilitie. For many which I have reasoned with, concerning the Lawes of Christians, have liked all well, excepting only their plurality of Women, for they are all very lasciviously given, both men and women. The better sort which are in authoritie, are great takers of bribes, and all the Javans in generall, are bad pay-masters when they are trusted, notwithstanding, their Lawes for debts are so strickt, that the Creditour may take his Debtor, his Wives, Children,

The Divell prayed to.

Bribing.

Lawes for debt.

Slaves, and all that he hath, and sell them for his debt.

Likewise, they are all much given to stealing, from the highest to the lowest, and surely in times past, they have beene *Man-eaters, before that Traffique was had with them by the Chynasses, which as I have heard some of them say, is not above one hundred yeares since. They delight much in ease and Musicke, and for the most part, they spend the day sitting crosse legged like a Taylor, whitling of a sticke, whereby many of them become very good Carvers, to carve their Crise handles: and that is all the worke that most of them indevour to doe. They are very great eaters, but the Gentlemen allow their Slaves nothing, but Rice sod in water, with some rootes and hearbs, and they have a certaine hearb called Bettaile, which they usually have carried with them wheresoever they goe, in boxes, or wrapped up in a cloath like a Sugar-loafe, and also a nut called Pinange, which are both in operation very hot, and they eate them continually to warme them within, and keepe them from the Fluxe, they doe likewise take much Tobacco, and also Opium.

Theevish people.

** So L. Verto-mannus.*

Idlenesse.

The Javans themselves, are very dull and blockish to mannage any affaires of a Commonwealth, whereby all strangers goe beyond them that come into their land: and many of the Countrey of Clyn, which come thither to dwell, doe grow very rich, and rise to great Offices and Dignitie amongst them, as their Sabandar, their Layta-mougon, and others, especially the Chineses, who like Jewes live crooching under them, but rob them of their wealth, and send it for China.

Javans dull.

The Chineses are very crafty people in trading, using all kind of cousoning and deceipt which may possibly be devised. They have no pride in them, nor will refuse any labour, except they turne Javans (as many of them doe when they have done a murther, or some other villanie) then they are every whit as proud, and as lasie as the Javans. For their Religion they are of divers sects, but the most of them are Atheists. And many of them hold

Chinois crafty.

Religion of the Chinois.

opinion, that when they die, if they be good men, they shall be borne againe to great riches, and be made Governors, and if they be wicked men, then they shall be turned into some ugly beast, as a Frog or a Toade. They burne sacrifice every new Moone, mumbling prayers over them, with a kind of singing voyce, and as they sing, they ting a little Bell, which at the end of every Prayer, they ring out as fast as they can. This ceremony they also use, when any amongst them of account lyeth a dying. The manner of their sacrifice is this: They furnish their Altars, with Goats, Hens, Duckes, and divers sorts of fruits, the which are sometimes dressed to eate, and sometimes raw, and then are dressed afterwards and eaten. All that they burne, is onely papers painted, and cut out in curious workes, and valued by them at a certaine price. I have many times asked them, to whom they burne their sacrifice, and they have answered me to God: but the Goserats and Turkes *which are there, say they burne it to the Divell. If they do so, they are ashamed to confesse it. They are many of them well seene in Astronomy, and keepe a good account of their moneths and yeares: they observe no Sabboth, nor one day better then other, except when they lay the foundation of a house, or begin some other great worke, which day they ever after observe as a holy day. When any of them that are wealthy die in Bantam, their bodies are burnt to Ashes, which Ashes they put close in Jarres, and carry it to China to their friends. I have seene when some of them have lyen a dying, they have set up seaven Odours burning, foure of them being great, and burning light, and they were set upon a Cane, which lay crosse upon two Crotches, about sixe foote from the ground, and three set on the ground right under them, being very small, and burning dim. I have demaunded the meaning of it many times, but I could never have other answer, but that it was the fashion of China; and surely many such like things they doe, not knowing why, or wherefore, but onely that it hath beene a fashion amongst them. They delight very

**This seemes to be the malice of one Idolater to another.*

Funerall Rites.

[I. iii. 167.]

much in Playes, and singing, but they have the worst voyces that one shall heare any people have, the which Playes or Interludes, they hold as service to their gods: in the beginning of which, they often use to burne a sacrifice, the Priests many times kneeling downe, and kissing the ground three times, one presently after another. These Playes are made commonly, when they thinke their Juncks or shipping are set forth from China; likewise, when they are arrived at Bantam, and also when they set out from Bantam towards China: These Playes sometimes begin at noone, and end not till the next day morning, being most commonly in the open streete, having Stages set up for the purpose. Moreover, they have amongst them some South-sayers, which sometimes rage, and runne up and downe the streetes like mad men, having swords drawne in their hands, tairing their haire, and throwing themselves against the ground. When they are in this franticke taking, they affirme, and other Chyneses doe beleeve, that they can tell what shall come to passe after. Whether they be possest with the Devill or no, who revealeth something to them, I know not, but many Chyneses use them, when they send a Juncke of any voyage, to know whether they shall speed well or no, and by their report, it hath fallen out according as these South-sayers have told them. The Chyneses are apparelled in long gownes, wearing kirtles under them, hanging something lower then their gownes. They are surely the most effeminate, and cowardliest people that live. On their heads they weare a Caull, some of them being made of Silke, and some of haire: the haire of their heads is very long, which they bind up on a knot, right on the crowne of their heads. Their Nobility and Governours weare hoods of sundry fashions, some being one halfe like a hat, and the other like a French-hood; others being of Net-worke, with a high crowne, and no brims. These people are tall, and strong of body, having all very small blacke eyes, and very few of them have any haire on their faces: They will steale, and doe any kind of villanie to

Playes.

Southsayers.

Effeminatenesse.

Feature of body.

get wealth: their manner at Bantam, is to buy Women-slaves, (for they bring no women out of China) by whom they have many children, and when they returne to their owne Countrey, not minding to come to Bantam againe, they sell their women, but their children they carry with them. As for their goods, they take an order to send some at every shipping: for if they die in Bantam, all the goods they have there, is the Kings, and if once they cut their haire, they may never returne to their Countrey againe, but their Children may; alwaies provided, that they never cut their haire.

Haire cutting.

§. II.

A true and briefe Discourse of many dangers by fire, and other perfidious treacheries of the Javans.

The English left at Bantam.

AFter our Ships were laden, and all things set in as good order as it could be: upon the one and twentith of February, 1602. our General taking his leave of the shore, departed, leaving behind him to be resident in Bantam nine persons, over whom he appointed M. William Starkie, to be cheife Comander: likewise he left xiii. more, which he appointed to go in our Pinnasse for Banda; of which he was appointed for chiefe Comander over the rest, Thomas Tudde Merchant, and for Master of the said Pinnasse, one Thomas Keith. The Generall at his departure left order, that this Pinnasse should be sent away with all speed; wherefore having taken in, to the quantity of fifty sixe Chests and Fardells of goods, upon the sixth of March at night, she set sayle, but by reason of contrary winds, after she had spent neere two moneths, beating up and downe in the Seas, she was forced to returne againe to Bantam. Also at our Generals departure, he left us two houses full of goods, and likewise some goods lying in the Dutchmens house, but we were too few in number to keepe one well, had not God of his great mercie preserved us.

Mr. Starkey.

Thomas Tudd.

Thomas Keith.

It is not unknowne to all that were there, the quarrell betwixt the Javans and us, before our ships departed, who sought all the meanes they could to be revenged. Insomuch, that presently after the departure of our Pinnasse, they began to practise the firing of our Principall house, with fiery darts and arrowes in the night, and not content with that, but in the day time, if wee had brought out any quantitie of goods to ayre, we should be sure to have the towne fiered to windward not farre from us. And if these fire Arrowes, had not by Gods providence, beene espyed by some of our owne house, as they were, it was thought of us all, that that house and goods had beene all consumed, as might plainly appeare at the top, when we came to repaire it. But as the mallice of the raskall sort of people began now to appeare, and continued for the space of two yeeres against us: So Gods mercie began to shew it selfe unto us, and continued to the last day. As this discourse will plainely shew hereafter, his Name be blessed for it.

Javans goe about to fire the English house.

So soone as we had dispatched away our Pinnasse, we began to lay the foundation of our house, which was seventie two foot long, and thirtie sixe foot broad, but by reason there was at that time, a new Protector chosen, we were put to some trouble and cost, before we could be permitted to goe thorow with it. Also wee ayred all our prize goods, and M. Starkey caused the leathers of most of the packs to be stripped off, by whose counsell it was I know not, but these goods did not keep their colours nothing so well as the rest did, as we found afterwards.

The house builded.

[I. iii. 168.]

The one and twentieth of March, by reason of a China Captaine that shot a Piece, the towne was set on fire, in which fire were many houses full of goods consumed. Amongst other, the Dutch house was burnt to the ground, wherein we had lying sixtie five Fardells of goods, besides some Pepper. Also we had some Pepper lying in a Chinaes house, which for the most part was burned and spoyled, so that we lost one hundred and ninetie sacks cleare, besides the damage the rest received. Our losse

The Towne fired, and some of our goods burned.

by this fire was great, but we prayse God it was no more, considering how neere the fire came to both our houses, and how unfit they were at that time for such a danger, especially one, where the fire came within three yards of it; insomuch that the Jammes of the windowes were so hot, that a man could hardly suffer his hand to touch them, and yet the old and dry thatch tooke not fire, to the great admiration of all people that were there of many Nations. There was gathered about this house all the villaines in the Countrey, so that all that night, we that kept that house durst take no rest, for feare they would throw some firebrands upon it. In the Evening some of us standing in the doore, there came Javans, whom we knewe to be notorious Theeves, and asked us how many we were that lay in that house, wee demanded againe, what they had to doe to aske, and if they would know, they should come at midnight and see, at which answere they departed very much discontent, but such is their boldnesse there, that in the day time they would come and looke before our faces, how our doores were hanged, and what fastning they had within, and many times we were informed by some that wished us well, that if we did not keepe good watch, that there was a Crew, that meant to enter suddenly upon us, and to cut our throates, in so much that we being but foure at that house, what with over-watching, and what with the Disease that raigneth much in that Countrey, which is loosenesse of the bodie, wee were growne to very great weaknesse, and two of us never recovered it.

Wicked people and bold Theeves.

Nine saile of Hollanders.

The nineteenth of Aprill, 1603. came into the Road, nine sayle of Hollanders, over whom was Generall Wyborne Van Warwicke, who shortly after sent two of them for China, two for the Moluccoes, two laded at Bantam, one went to Jortan. Also he dispatched a Pinnasse to Achen, to will certaine ships (that went from thence by Captaine Spilbergs directions to Zeilon, to winne a small Fort from the Portugals) to come to Bantam; in the meane time, he with one ship stayed untill

their arrivall.' We are very much beholding to this Generall for wine, bread, and many other necessaries, and courtesies received of him. Hee would often tell us how Sir Richard Luson relieved him, when he was likely to perish in the Sea, for the which he would say he was bound to be kind to Englishmen wheresoever he met them, and to speake truth, there was nothing in his ships for the comfort of sicke men, but we might command it, as if it had beene our owne. Also he in his owne person, did very much reverence the Queenes Majestie of England, when hee talked of Her. But there were some of baser sort in his Fleet, that did use very unreverent speeches of Her to some of the Country people.

Van Warwickes kindnesse.

The five and twentieth of Aprill died Thomas Morgan, our second Factor heere, who had bin sickly a long time. Also Master Starkey began to grow very weake. The eight and twentieth day, came in our Pinnasse which was sent for Banda; having lost one of her Factors, William Chase, and the rest but weake and sickly. About this time there came certaine of the Kings Officers, and forbade us to goe forward with our house, the reason whereof, as I doe judge was because the new Protector had not as yet received a bribe; and the Sabyndar and hee beeing at that time not friends, he could doe us little pleasure: wherefore we complayned to Cay Tomongone Gobay, the Admirall, who indeed is the Father of all Strangers in that place. He presently made a great Feast, and invited all the principall of the Court, at which Feast hee began to discourse of our cause, telling them what a shame it was that the King and they would not keepe their words to the English Generall and Merchants, and that rather then hee would breake his word, hee would goe dwell in a small Cottage himselfe, and wee should have his house: but after much adoe, he made them grant that we should goe forward with our house, the which in short time after was finished. Our principall Merchant fearing Pepper would be deare, by reason of the Flemmish shipping that was there present, and the rest that were to come, bought

Death of T. Morgan.

New Protector perfidious.

up as much Pepper as he could, and because our house was not as yet readie, he disbursed his money before the Pepper was weighed, and by reason the Flemmings are not curious in receiving their Pepper, when we came to weigh ours, we were forced to receive it as they did, or else we should have neither money nor Pepper, so that we had in that parcell much fowle and bad Pepper.

Master Starkeys death.

Upon the last of June, Master Starkey ended his dayes, whose buriall Generall Warwick caused to be honoured with a Company of shot and Pikes, the Colours trayled upon the ground, according to the Order of Souldiers buriall.

The fourth of July, the great Market on the East-side of the River, was by villanie of certaine Javans, (who thought to get some spoyle of the Chines goods) set on fire, in which fire some Chinois that were indebted to us, lost all that they were worth, so that we escaped not without some losse by it. The seventeenth of July, deceased Thomas Dobson, one of the Factours left for Banda: the seven and twentieth day the Towne was burnt againe on the East-side the River. The fifth of August at ten a clocke at night, there came to our house Captaine Spilberge, Captaine John Powlson, and some other Dutch Captaines, who told us they had that day beene with the Protector about some businesse, who asked them if they would take our parts, if hee should doe any violence to us, to the which they answered, as they said, that wee and they were neere Neighbours, wherefore they might not see us wronged, they said more that hee straightly charged them, that whatsoever he should doe unto us, that they should not bee offended nor ayde us any way.

[I. iii. 169.] *Fire.*

M. Dobsons death.

Another fire.

From thence I went presently to the Protector, and gave him a smal Present, and also thankes for his men, which foure or five dayes before hee had sent to helpe us in our building. The Present he received, but I perceived by his countenance he was angry: He told me, that that day he had much businesse with the King, but the next morning he would send for me, for that hee had to

speake with me. The same day the Admirall sent his sonne to him to know what his meaning was to use such threatning speeches of us, but he denyed them. In the morning following hee sent for me: when I came he asked me, what they were that had told me he meant to harme us: I told him the Hollanders: hee asked againe whether they were Slaves or Captaines, I told him they were Captaines: he bad me I should show his Scrivana those Captaines. He said more, that if any Javan or Chines had done it, he would have sent for him, and cut his throat before us. Then hee began to find fault with us, because wee did not come to him when wee had any Sute, but went alwayes to the Sabindar or the Admirall: I answered againe that he was but new come into his place, and that we had as yet no acquaintance with him, but hereafter I would come to him. Then he promised me he would doe us all the friendship he could, but it was but dissimulation to borrow money of us. Also the Flemmings about this time spred a rumour through their owne Fleet, that the King would force us to lend him five thousand Rials of eight, otherwise he would cause our house to be plucked downe againe, the which was false, for neither the King nor the Protector, had at that time sent to us for any, nor did in foure monethes after.

The seventeenth of August, Captaine Spilberge having vented all his Commodities (which he shared in our prize) and laden his ships and his Pinnasse with Pepper, departed thence, having in his company two ships more of Warwicks Fleet. The nineteenth of August, wee brought out certaine packes of goods to ayre, wherefore a Javan being Slave to one of the principall of the Countrey, threw some fire-workes upon a Thatched house, a little to windward of us, we espying it pursued him, and tooke him, and carryed him to Cay Tomongone the Admirall, who put him in Irons. Within an houre after there came more of his fellowes, who would have taken him away perforce, wherefore the Admirals men and they fell by the eares, and many were hurt on both sides. So

Javans treacherie.

soone as the Admirals men had beaten them away, hee sent him to the King, but because his Master was one of the King's friends, he was not put to death: although by the Law of the Countrey he should have dyed, neither did we greatly seeke it, because his Master was our very good friend also. Likewise, if a Javan doe offend hee must bee punished with death, for if they inflict any lesse punishment, they are so wicked and bloudie a people, that they will bee cowardly revenged, not only of Strangers, but of their owne Masters: so that if any Slave doe offend his Master, he doth quite forgive him, or else hee dyes for it. But they are very obedient, and will seldome offend their Masters, because they are for the most part as wicked as themselves. The two and twentieth of August, at night there were certaine Javans gotten into a great yard hard by our house, who when we were singing of a Psalme, which wee did use to doe when we set our Watch, these Rogues threw stones at our windowes, as if they would have beaten downe our house, and some of the stones came in at the windowes, and missed us very narrowly, but we tooke some of them, which yet upon submission we spared.

Quarrell betwixt Chinois and Hollanders.

About this time there grew a quarrell betweene the Flemmings and the Chinois, and some were slaine and hurt on both sides. This grew by the misbehaviour of the Flemmings, which in that place doe carry themselves very rude and disordered, in that abundant manner that they are a shame and infamy to Christendome and Christians. I doe not condemne them all, but the vulgar sort, who when they are a-shoare, and their drinke in, their Commanders can beare no rule over them. They got the worst before this quarrell was ended, but not by the Chinois, nor by manhood of the Javans, only some that were Slaves to some Turne-coate Chinois, would steale behind the Flemmings in the Evening, and cowardly stab them.

Hollanders drunken disorders.

One day they being very importunate, for one of their men which was slaine, the Protectour demanded of them, when they came to any Countrey to trade, whether they

brought Lawes with them, or whether they were governed by the Lawes of the Countrey they were in: to the which they answered, that when they were aboord their ships, they were governed by their own Lawes, but when they were ashoare, they were under the Lawes of our Countrey they were in: well, said the Protector, then I will tell you the Lawes of the Countrey, which is this, if one kill a Slave, he must pay twentie Rials of eight, if a Freeman, fifty Rials, if a Gentleman, a hundred Rials. The Flemmings requested to have that under his owne hand, the which they had, and it was all the mends they had for killing of their man, if they would have taken fiftie Rials of eight, they might have had it.

Punishment for Murther.

[I. iii. 170.]

About the fift of September, here came a Juncke full of men from the Iland of Lampon, which standeth in the Straights of Sunda; and are enemies to the Javans, and all others that are dwellers in Bantam: these are so like the Javans, that the one is not knowne from the other. Also there were many Javans consorted with them. These men having their Juncke riding in a Creeke hard by the Towne, and being in all points like unto the Javans, would boldly come into the Towne, and not only in the evenings and nights come into houses, and cut off the peoples heads, but at noone dayes, in so much that for the space of a moneth, wee could take little rest for the grievous crying of the people. One day while we were sitting at dinner, they came and tooke a woman, being our next Neighbour, and muffled her so with a Sacke, that she could not cry, and so carried her into a tuft of bushes in our backside, and there cut her throate, and meant to have cut off her head, if they had had time. Her Husband missing her, and looking out might see them carrie her, who cryed out, and we rose from dinner and pursued them, but it was too late to save her life. Also they were very swift of foot, so that we could come neere none of them, and for any thing that we knew, they might be amongst us, for after the Javans were come wee could not know them. It was thought of some that they lay hid in the bushes

Lampons cruell enmitie to Java.

till the comming of the Javans, and then stole out, and put themselves amongst them. There were some Java women that would cut off their Husbands heads in the night, and sell them to these people. They did linger much about our house, and surely if we had not kept good watch, they would have attempted the cutting of our throats (if not for our heads) for our goods. But after awhile, many of them were knowne, and being taken were executed, which were men of very goodly stature. The reason they doe make these hard Adventures, is, their King gives them a woman for every strangers head they bring him, wherefore many times they would digge up such as were new buried at Bantam, and cut off their heads, and so coozen their King.

Perfidious Javans.

Crueltie rewarded.

Also at this time, some credible men that wished us wel, of whom the Admirall was one, bid us have a speciall care of our good watch, because some of the principall of the Land in birth, though not in wealth nor office, which had many Slaves, but little to maintayne them, had laid a Plot to have slaine us in the night, and to have made spoyle of our goods which they tooke to be ten times more then were, and after to have given it out, the Lampons had done it. Whereupon we were forced to have Lights burning al night round about our house, otherwise in the dark nights, they being so blacke as they are, might have entred suddenly upon us, before wee should descry them. For all the upper worke of our houses by reason of the heat are open, and they are built with Canes, and likewise the fence round about the houses, which is but a weake building, and may quickly be borne downe. These Heathen Devils came forth two or three times, thinking to have executed their bloudie pretence, but God would not suffer them. For so soone as they came within sight of our Lights and might heare our Drumme sound at the end of every watch, their hearts failed them, so that they durst not give the attempt, for they supposed, wee were readie not only with our small shot, but with our Murtherers to give them entertainment, and to speake

Treacherie intended and prevented.

truth, they should have found it so indeed. After they had wayted long, and could never find oportunitie, they fell out amongst themselves, and so were dispersed. Divers others made bold but vain attempts, and therfore now fel to work with the Chinois, whose houses at this time were ful of our goods, which they had bought, in so much that every night for a long time, we had such grievous crying out, and we looking every houre when we should be assaulted, durst take no rest in the night. Many Chinois about us were slaine, and surely if wee had not defended them with our shot, many more would have bin slaine: for the singing of a Bullet is as terrible to a Javan, as the cry of the Hounds is in the eares of the Hare: for they will not abide if once they heare it. But these continuall alarmes, and grievous out-cryes of men, women and children grew so rife in our eares, that our men in their sleepe would dreame they were pursuing the Javans, and suddenly would leape out of their Beds and catch their weapons: his next fellow hearing the dolefull noyse he made, would bussell up, and in their sleepe have wounded one another, before those that had the watch could come to part them: and if they should have set their weapons further from them they would not have beene readie, if we should have had occasion, the which we looked for every minute, and being but few of us, I tooke my turne to watch as long as any, in which I have stood many times more in feare of my owne men then of any other, and when I have heard them bussel, have catched up a Target, for feare they would have served me as they did their fellowes.

The miseries of the English.

But all this feare was nothing to us in comparison of that which I will now speake of, which was fire. O this word fire, had it beene spoken neere me, either in English, Mallayes, Javanes, or China; although I had beene sound a-sleepe, yet I should have leaped out of my bed, the which I have done sometimes, when our men in their watch have but whispered one to another of fire: In so much that I was forced to warne them,

Terror of the word Fire.

not to talke of fire in the night, except they had great occasion.

[I. iii. 171.] And not only my selfe, but my fellowes, Thomas Tudd, and Gabriel Towerson, after our watches had beene out, and we heavie a-sleepe so that our men many times sounding a Drumme at our Chamber doores, we have never bewrayed them, yet presently after they have but whispered of fire, we all have runne out of our Chambers. I speake not this, that any that may bee sent thither hereafter should be discouraged, for then we were strangers, and now we have many friends there, and the Countrey is growne to much better civilitie, and as the yong King groweth in age, will more and more, because their Government will bee better. In three monethes space, the Towne on the East-side the River, was burnt five times, but God be praysed the wind alwayes favoured us, and although the Javans many times fired it on our side, yet it pleased God still to preserve us, so that by reason it blew but little wind, it was quenched before it came to hurt us.

The Towne five times burnt in three monethes.

§. III.

Differences betwixt the Hollanders (stiling themselves English) the Javans, and other things remarkable.

ABout this time also, there was much falling out betweene the Flemmings and the Countrey people, by meanes of the rude behaviour of the Flemmings, and many of them were stabd in the evenings: and at that time the Common people knew not us from the Flemmings, for both they and wee were called by the name of Englishmen, by reason of their usurping our name at their first comming thither to trade, wherein they did our Nation much wrong, for wee were ever ashamed of their behaviour, and as wee passed along the street, wee might heare the people in the Market, rayling and exclayming on the English men, although they meant the

Hollanders called themselves English in the Indies, and so disgraced us.

Hollanders, wherefore, we fearing some of our men might be slaine in stead of them, wee began to thinke how wee might make our selves knowne from the Hollanders.

Novemb. 17. *solemnized, & thereby a difference made betwixt us.*

And now the seventeenth of November drawing neere, the which wee held to be our Coronation day, (for at that time, nor the yeare following, we knew no other) we all suted our selves in new apparell of silke, and made us all Scarfes of white and red Taffata, beeing our Countrie Colours. Also we made a Flagge with the red Crosse through the middle, and because wee that were the Merchants would be knowne from our men, we edged our Scarfes with a deepe fringe of gold, and that was our difference. Our day being come, wee set up our Banner of Saint George, upon the top of our house, and with our Drumme and Shot wee marched up and downe within our owne ground, being but fourteene in number, wherefore we could march but single one after another, and so plied our Shot, and casting our selves in Rings and Esses. The Sabindar and divers of the Chiefest of the Land, hearing our Peeces, came to see us and to enquire the cause of our triumph, we told them, that that day seven and fortie yeare, our Queene was crowned, wherfore all English men, in what Countrey soever they were did triumph on that day, Hee greatly commended us for having our Prince in remembrance in so farre a Countrey. Many others did aske us, why the English men at the other house did not so: wee told them, that they were no English men, but Hollanders, and that they had no King, but their Land was ruled by Governors. Some would replie againe, and say they named themselves to bee English men at first, and therefore they tooke them to be English men, but wee would tell them againe, they were of another Countrey neere England, and spake another Language, and that if they did talke with them now, they should heare they were of another Nation. The multitude of the people did admire to see so few of us deliver so much shot, for the Javans and Chinees are no good shot. In the after noone I caused our men to walke abroad the

Towne, and the Market, whereby the people might take notice of them, and the red and white Scarfes and Hatbands made such a showe, that the Inhabitants of those parts had never seene the like, so that ever after that day, wee were knowne from the Hollanders, and many times, the children in the streets would runne after us, crying, Oran Engrees bayk, oran Hollanda Jahad, which is, the English men are good, the Hollanders are naught. Generall Warwicke went for Patanea, and from thence to China.

A Carrick taken.

The sixt day of December came in two ships, which some six moneths before he had sent thither, who comming under the Iland of Mackow, found a Carracke there riding at an anchor, beeing full laden with raw Silks, Muske, and divers other costly wares, readie to depart, and at that time, her men were almost all ashoare, so that they tooke her without any resistance, or very little, they laded their two ships and the rest they set a fire, so that there was by their owne report, twice so much burnt as they brought away. Comming backe they met with a great Juncke of Syon, with whom they fought and killed threescore and foure men. They had some slaine and hurt also, but when they had taken her, and knew her to be of Syon, they let her goe againe, because they had or shortly meant to send Factors there, the Captaine of the Juncke was slaine, who they say, when they haled him would not tell them [I. iii. 172.] of whence he was, and when they bad him strike, Answered that he would not for never a Saile that swamme in the Sea. The Flemmings not knowing Muske sold great store to certaine of Japan, which they met with at Sea for little or nothing. After they had spent some fortie dayes in Bantam, and their Mariners, some wickedly and some vainly consumed their pillage, (which was great) upon the seventeenth of January they set saile from thence, being foure ships in company there. One had laded at Bantam, and one that some two monethes before came from China; and had spent foure yeares out of their Countrey, of which *Cachinchina.* time, they had beene fourteene monethes at Cachinchina,

where they at their first comming were betrayed, and their Captaines taken Prisoners, whom they made kneele on their knees foure and twentie houres, having their neckes bare, and one standing with a sharpe Sword readie to have strooken off their heads when the word should bee given. They bare them downe to be men of Warre and Spyes, and no Merchants. These Dutchmen were Papists, wherefore in the end the Portugall Friers saved their lives, and afterwards they were kindly used, but their ransome cost them deare.

About this time the Protector sent to mee divers times to lend him two thousand pieces of eight, and if not two thousand, a thousand, but I put him of, telling him we were left there with goods but no money. Also that the people of the Countrey ought us much, the which we could not get in, likewise that as yet we had bought but little Pepper, wherefore we must buy all wee could to get lading against we expected our ships. The Flemmings that came in so rich from Mackow, had so bribed him, *Macaou.* that now he began to harken to them concerning the building of a faire house.

The sixt of February we lost one of our Company Robert Wallis, and many more of our men were sicke and lame, which came by the heate of the Pepper in milling and shuting it, so that ever after wee were forced to hire Chines to doe that worke, and our owne men to over-see them only. *Danger by heate of Pepper.*

The sixteenth of February, came in a great ship of Zeilan from Pattany, but five or sixe dayes before her comming, she sent in a small Slup or Pinnace, willing their Factors to buy up all the Pepper they could, which made us thinke that Generall Warwicke, with all his shippes was comming to lade there, wherefore we bought up all that wee found to bee good and merchantable. For the Chinees spoiled much with water and durt, because the Flemmings refused none, and it is of a certaine, the Chinees bought one of another, and sold it to the Flemmings againe at the same price they bought it, and yet *Chinois dishonesty.*

they would gaine ten Rials of eight in a hundred sackes, by putting in water and durt, for were it never so bad, they knew their Chapmen, and blow which way the wind would, they had shipping to come thither, either from the East or from the West, in so much that one would have thought they meant to carrie away the Pepper growing on the Trees, Mountaines and all. The people there hearing our Countries are cold, have asked us if wee beat Pepper in our Morter, that we playster our wales with to make our houses warme. This ship hade taken much good purchase, but they sware those Englishmen they had with them, and also charged them upon losse of their wages, they should tell us nothing, which we tooke very unkindly.

A jest of our buying so much Pepper.

Englishmen with the Hollanders.

There was at this time three houses of Flemmings, and all lay for severall accounts, and bought up Pepper every one so much as they could get. The fift of March, the Protector sent to mee in the Kings name to borrow a thousand Rials of eight, wherefore I was forced to lend them five hundred, or else they would have fallen out with me, the which the Flemmings would have beene glad to have seene.

A Juncke from Jor.

About this time, there came in a Juncke from Jore, with certaine Flemmings in it, who stole away with their goods, because Jore had a long time beene besieged by the Portugals of Malacco, so that they of the Towne could hardly looke out. They said the Portugals offered the King of Jore peace, upon condition hee would deliver those Flemmings that were there into their hands, or kill them himselfe, to the which the King answered, that hee would first lose his Kingdome. In the beginning of this moneth of March, and to make an end of this old and wonderfull yeare, 1603. we had two great fires on the other side of the water which did much spoile, but God bee thanked the wind alwayes favoured us.

Two great fires.

Anno, 1604. And now to begin the new yeare 1604. my Pen affoords to speake of little else, but Murther, Theft, Warres, Fire and Treason, and first to begin with a Tragedie. We had a Malato of Pegu in our house, which our ships brought

from Achen, and in the great ship that came lately from Pattania, there was one of his Country men, who on Sunday being the eight of Aprill, had gotten a bottle of Wine, and brought it a-shore to make merry with our Molato. In the afternoone, they walke abroad, met with the Provost of their ship, who bid their Molato get him a-boord, but he answered he would not yet, whereupon the Provost strooke him, our Molato seeing his Country-man misused and being somewhat tickled in the head with wine, which hee did seldome use to drinke, thought he would revenge his Country-mans quarrell, wherefore hee presently came home, and the evening being come, he tooke a Rapier and a Target, and with his Cryse at his backe went forth. And because at that time there was much quarrelling and brabbling betweene the Javans and the Flemmings, I charged our men, that if they were sent out in the evening about any businesse, they should take their Weapons with them, for feare some Javans, that knew them not might doe them a mischiefe in the darke, we thinking the Cooke had sent him into the Market for Herbes or something which hee wanted, mistrusted nothing. Also there went out with him a Slave of the Sabindars, which was borne and brought up amongst the Spaniards at the Manelies. They meeting with the Provost, & the other Molato together, our Molato beganne to quarrell with the Provost, and presently out with his Cryse, and stabd him, then fearing his Countryman would bewray him, stabd him also, and would have slaine him that went out with him, had he not runne thorow a great Ditch, and so got from him, then meeting with a poore Javan, and being nusled in bloud stabd him likewise.

Dangers by a Molato.

[I. iii. 173.]

Needs must he goe whom the Devill drives. This Story being long I have cut off, lest after so irksome quarrels caused both with Javans & Hollanders, the prolixitie might cause a third from the Reader.

There manner is, that when a Javan of any account is put to death, although there bee a common Executioner, yet the neerest of kinne doth execute his office, and it is held the greatest favour they can doe them. The Protectour would have twentie Rials of eight for the Javan which was slaine, and the Hollanders his life. And accordingly they came with a guard of shot, the sixteenth

of Aprill, to his execution, which the Executioner performed with quickest dispatch.

The same evening their Vice-Admirall, having one ship more in company set sayle for Holland. The fourteenth day Thomas Tudd, the Companies chiefe Factor left there for Banda who had beene a long time sicke departed his life, so that of seven Factors left there for this place and Banda, we were now but two living, and we had lost in all since the departure of our ships, eight men besides the Malato that was executed, and wee were now tenne living and one Boy. The twentieth day died Jasper Gensbery, who was Admirall of the two ships that was betrayed at Cachinchina.

Thomas Tudd dyeth.

Difficultie in Sayles.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, came in a great Juncke from China, which was thought to be cast away, because she tarryed so late, for they use to come in February and March, but by reason of her comming, Cashis kept all the yeare at a very cheap rate, which was a great hinderance to us, in the sales of our prize goods, for when Cashis were cheape, and Rials deare, wee could not vent a piece of stuffe at halfe the value we did at our first comming. Againe, the Chinois this yeare sent all the Rials they could get for China, wherefore we were forced to give them credit, or else we must lose the principall time of the yeare for our sales. Pepper the Flemmings had left none, but what was in our hands and the Sabindars, who would not sell for any reasonable price. Also our goods now began to grow old, and the colours of many sorts began to vade, for the Ware-houses in that place are so hot and moyst, that although men take never so much paines in ayring and turning their wares, yet they will spoyle any sort of Cloth which shall lye long in them.

§. IIII.

Treacherous underminings, with other occurrents.

ACHines borne, but now turned Javan, who was our next neighbour, and kept a victualing house, and brewed Aracke, which is a kind of hot drinke, that is used in most of those parts of the world, in stead of Wine, had two Out-houses, where his guests did use to sit, and in the one hee used to brew, which joyned to our pales, on the South side of our house; but now he began another Trade, and became an Ingenor, having got eight Fire-brands of hell more to him, onely of purpose to set our house a fire. These nine deepe workers digged a Well in one of these houses, from the bottome of which Well, they brought a Mine, quite under the foundation of our house: but when they came up to the Planckes of our Ware-house, they were at a stand, but before they could make this Mine, they were forced to dig a very deepe Well in their yard, to draw away the water which did abound in this Mine, and because we should mistrust nothing, they planted Tobacco, and many other hearbs, hard by that Well, and would every day be watering of them: Also, we might heare them boyling of water everie day, but because they were Brewers, and had many tubbs to wash and to fill, wee mistrusted nothing of that ensued. When they came to these Plancks afore-named, they durst not cut them, alwaies for some of us were walking over them, both night and day. After they had waited two moneths, and could never find opportunitie to cut the boords, they began to cast their Cerberous heads together how they should get in, but the Devill set them wrong to work, for if they had continued stil, until they had come but crosse the ware-house opposite against them, they had found thirtie thousand Rials of eight buried in Jarres, for feare of fire, and also that roome was not boorded at all, so they might have come into the Ware-house, and had what they sought for. Well, one of these wicked

Vault-workes to convey away the English goods.

Great danger.

consortship being a Smith, and brought up alwaies to worke in fire, told his fellowes he would worke out the plancks with fire, so that we should never heare nor see him: and upon the eight and twentieth of May, about ten of the clocke at night, they put to a Candle, and burnt a round hole through the boords. So soone as the fire came thorow, the Mats of our Packs tooke fire, which
[I. iii. 174.] presently spread, and began to burne; all this while we knew nothing, nor could perceive nothing, by reason of the closenesse of the Ware-house, for all the windowes were plaistered up, for feare of fire over-head. After the first watch was out, wherein I was one my selfe, the second watch smelt a strong funcke of fire, for it was by that time much increased, but they knew not where it should be, and searched every roome and corner. One remembred a Rats hole at last, behind his Trunke, where he might plainly perceive the smoake to steame up out of the hole. Then presently he came into my Chamber, and told me our Cloath Ware-house was a fire, I hearing this word fire, although I was fast asleepe, yet it was no need to bid me rise, neither was I long a slipping on my clothes, but presently ran downe and opened the doores, whereat came out such a strong smoake, that had almost strangled us. This smoake, by reason it had no vent, was so thicke, that wee could not perceive where abouts the fire was, and at that time we had two great Jarres of Powder standing in the Ware-house, which caused us greatly to feare being blowne up; yet setting all feare aside, we plucked all things off that lay on them, which felt in our hands verie hot: The Powder we got out, and carried it into our backeside, then we searched boldly for the fire and found it; we lighted Candles, but the thicknesse of the smoake put them out, then we tied twelve great Waxe Candles together, and lighted them all, which continued alight: we plucked out packes so fast as wee could, but by reason of the heat and smoake which choaked us, being so few as we were, could doe little good upon it: wherefore we let in the Chinois; then came in as well those that had done

it, as others, hoping to get some spoile. When I saw that these damned Chinois would doe us little good, but rather harme, I was almost in dispaire, and having at that time a thousand pound in Gold, which I had received of Generall Hymskerke for Pepper, in my Chest above staires, I ran *Hymskerke.* up thinking to fetch it, and to throw it into a pond on our backe-side, but when I came to my Chamber doore, my mind altered, and I thought I would goe see once againe what might be done, and comming thorough our Hall, I chanced to cast mine eie into our dyning roome, which was right over the place where the fire was, where there were Chinois that had removed the Table, and were breaking up the Brickes of the Seeling; amongst which was our unkind neighbour, which was the principall Actor; I bid them leave and get them downe, the which they would not, untill I began to let flie amongst them: when I had driven them downe, I went downe after them, and desired some Merchants that stood by, with whom we had dealings, that they would urge the rest of the Chinois to help us plucke out packes, promising they should be well paid for their paines: it pleased God to put so much good in their minds, which I thinke, never had any before nor since, so that they fell to worke of all hands, and presently the roome was cleered, out of which came fiftie and odde packs, whereof sixteene were on a light fire. Thus by their help the fire was quenched, which they knew, and therefore would not worke any more, and the next day were paid for their worke, besides what they stole.

We wondered much how this fire should come, suspect- *Discovery of knavery.* ing the Portugalls had hired Malayes to doe it. But a certaine Chines, a Bricklayer, which wrought at the Dutch house, in the morning, told a Flemming that had beene long in the Country, that certaine Chinois had done it, which now were fled, and if we looked well in the roome, we should finde the manner how it was done. The Dutchman told an English Surgeon what he had heard, and willed him to come and tell us, and he himselfe, because

he was perfect in the language, would go and inquire after them. The English Surgeon came to me, and desired me he might see the roome where the fire was, I presently called for a Candle, and shewed him the roome; he going to one corner, found a little round hole, which was burned thorough one plancke of the floore, whereat I put downe a long sticke which I had in my hand, but could feele no ground: then I called for an Axe, and as softly as we could, we wrinched up the plancke, where under was a way, that the greatest Chest or Packe in our house might have gone downe, which when I saw, as secretly as I could, I called three of our men, and went to the house from whence the Mine came, having our weapons. I set one in the doore, and charged him he should let none come out, whatsoever he were, and my selfe with the other two went in, where in one roome we found three men, there were two more in another roome, who hearing us, fled out at a backe doore, which we knew not of before we see them; those three, after two or three blowes given, we brought away, one was a dweller in the house, but the other two we could prove nothing against them: I laid them fast in Irons, and presently I sent Master Towerson to the Protector, to certifie him how the case stood, and to desire him they might be sought out, and have Justice done upon them, which he promised should be done, but was very slacke in performance.

Javans taken.

Hollanders kindnesse.

The Dutch Merchants hearing we had taken some, and doubting the Chynois would rise against us, came very kindly with their weapons, and sware they would live and die in our quarrell: when we had laid out those goods that had received some water to ayre, then we examined this partie that dwelt in the house, who told us the names of sixe that were fled, but hee would not confesse that he knew any thing of it: also he said, the other two knew nothing of the matter, neither could he tell us, as hee said, whether the rest were fled. Then fearing him with an hot Iron, but not touching him, he confessed the whole manner of all, and that he did helpe; he said, those two

out-houses were built for that purpose at the first, although they put them to other use, because we should not mistrust them: and more, that the myne was made two moneths before, in which time many nights before, they had been in the myne, striving to get into our house, but could not. [I. iii. 175.]

We tortured him, because when we had laid downe the yron, he denied all; but beeing tortured, made a second confession. The next morning I sent him to execution: as hee went out of our gates, the Javans (who doe much rejoyce when they see a Chynese goe to execution: as also the Chynois doe, when they see a Javan goe to his death) reviled him, but hee would answer againe, saying, The English-men were rich, and the Chynois were poore, therefore why should they not steale from the English if they could. The next day, the Admirall tooke another of them, and sent him to me, who knew there was but one way with him, and therefore resolved with himselfe not to confesse any thing to us: he was found hid in a pryvie, and this was he that put the fire to our house; he was a Gold-smith, and confessed to the Admirall, he had clipped many Ryalls, and also coyned some counterfeit: some things he confessed to him concerning our matter, but not much, but he would tell us nothing. Wherefore because of his sullennesse, and that it was hee that fired us, I caused him to be burned under the nayles of his Thumbes, Fingers and Toes, with sharpe hot yrons, and the nayles to be torne off, and because he never blinshed at that, we thought that his hands and legs had been nummed with tying, wherefore we burned him in the hands, armes, shoulders, and necke, but all was one with him: then we burned him quite through the hands, and with rasphes of yron tore out the flesh and sinewes. After that I caused them to knock the edges of his shinbones with hot searing yrons. Then I caused cold scrues of yron to be scrued into the bones of his armes, and suddenly to be snatched out: after that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers; yet for

Execution of a China theefe.

Cruell torturing.

A dissolute resolution.

all this he never shed teare, no nor once turned his head aside, nor stirred hand nor foote; but when we demanded any question, he would put his tongue between his teeth, and strike his chin upon his knees to bite it off. When all the extremitie we could use was but in vaine, I caused him to be put fast in yrons againe, where the Amits or Ants, which doe greatly abound there, got into his wounds, and tormented him worse then we had done, as we might well see by his gesture. The Kings Officers desired me he might bee shot to death; I told them that was too good a death for such a villaine, and said more, That in our Countreys if a Gentleman, or a Souldior had committed a fact worthy of death, then he was shot to death, and yet he was befriended too, but they doe hold it to be the cruellest and basest death that is. Wherefore they being very importunate, in the evening we lead him into the fields, and made him fast to a stake: the first shot carried away a piece of his arme, bone and all; the next shot stroke him through the Breast up neere to the shoulder, then he holding downe his head, looked upon the wound: The third shot that was made, one of our men had cut a bullet in three parts, which stroke upon his Breast in a triangle, whereat he fell downe as low as the stake would give him leave; but between our Men and the Flemmings, they shot him almost all to pieces before they left him. Now in this time the Admirall, and the Sabyndar sent us a guard of men every night, for feare the Chynois would rise against us, but we feared it not, yet we kept foure of their men to be witnesses, that whatsoever we did, if they should rise, was but in our owne defence. The other two I set free.

Execution.

Another of them I obtained by a bribe, who confessed his associats, viz. Uniete the chiefe, Sawman his partner that dwelt in the house with him, Hynting, Omigpayo, Hewsamcow, Utee, which was shortly after crysed for lying with a woman, himselfe Boyhy, Irrow, and Lackow, which were fled to Jackatra: the which Irrow and Lackow I had never heard of before, I made all the meanes I

could to get them, but I could not except I would have been at exceeding great charges, and there were others that belonged to some Javans, which were great men, and getting into their houses, we could not get them: some of them did offer them to sell to us, and wee did beat the price as one would doe about an Oxe or a Calfe; but they held them so deare, that I durst not deale with them: I proferred them as much for every one, as they might buy them another slave in their roomes, and some benefit, but they were so fit instruments for their purpose, beeing practised in all villanie, that they would not part with them without a great summe. For all the Javans and Chynies, from the highest to the lowest are all villaines, and have not one sparke of grace in them; and if it were not for the Sabindar, the Admirall and one or two more, which are Clyn-men borne, there were no living for a Christian amongst them, without a Fort, or very strong house all of bricke or stone. This Boyhoy we tortured not, because of his confession, but crysed him.

All the people naught.

Amongst all other of the devils Instruments here upon earth, there was one of the Kings bloud, called Panggranman delicke, who kept one of those nine villaines in his house. One day he comming to our house to buy cloth, we desired him he would deliver this fellow into our hands, promising him that we would cause our Generall to give him thankes, and told him how good it would be for the Countrey, to roote out such villaines as they were: he answered againe, That we should tell them so, that had the government of the Countrie in their hands, or cared for the good of the Countrey, for he did not. Some three or foure daies he came to our house againe, and would have had me given him credit for sixe or seven hundred Rialls of eight in cloth, but because he was a man not to be trusted, I excused the matter, saying, That I looked every day for our Ships, and that I could deliver no goods, but I must have Pepper presently, whereby I might have lading readie. After he had beene very earnest, and saw he could not prevaile, he went out very angry, and beeing

A noble villaine.

[I. iii. 176.]

at our gate, he looked backe upon our house, and said, It was pity but it should bee burnt againe. Also he would have had a Chynese that we had some dealings with, to have helped to some Chynois that dwelt neere us, to undertake the firing of our house againe. Hee beeing a man generally hated of all for cruelty that he had done, the Chynois told us what he said: wherefore I would presently have gone to the Court to have complained of him; but many wished me not to doe so: for they said, He was a desperate villaine, and cared neither for King nor Protector, but if we brought him to that open shame, he would doe us a mischiefe whatsoever came of it: and I saw it, for the King and the Governour, had sent to him often times, to deliver us that fellow he had, but he cared not for them. Shortly after, we had many shrewd attempts to have fired our house; for the towne was fired in three places at one instant in the night, a little to windward of our house, and twice another night, but God blessed our industry and preserved us.

Miserable government.

Often treacheries.

Amongst all these sorrowfull and troublesome discourses, it happened that a certaine Chynois which dwelt hard under our pales, did steale away another Chynies wife, and being hardly pursued by her husband, they had no meanes to shift her away, but to put her over the pales into our ground. And at that time we having newly shot much Pepper into our Warehouse, which was so extreame hot, that we were forced to keepe the doore open night and day, having alwayes a regard to it in the night: This being a fit place for her to hide her in; got behind the doore, so farre as she could stand for heat, and her husband would have sought all Java and Chyna, before he would or durst come thither to seeke. In the night after our watch was set, one of our Company went into our backside, the which place we did very much frequent night and day; but as he was comming backe, and beeing a little starre light, he saw the woman stand in the Pepper house doore, who came forth to take breath, for she had been better to have been in the stoves so long: he pre-

A woman stollen.

The heat of Pepper in those parts.

senly swore, A woman: I ran downe, and caused her to be searched and examined presently; She told us that her husband would have beat her, wherefore she was forced to climbe over our pales, and to hide her selfe. *A merry Jeast.*

It is an ordinary thing for the Chines to beate their Wives, especially she being a Cuchinchyne woman, which had no friends in Towne, for the Javans will hardly suffer them to beat their women; wherefore now having searched and secured every place, I thought it would prove but some such Jest. The next morning her husband came, who falling downe on his marie-bones, desired me to be good unto him, for I having so lately tortured some Chines, he thought I would torture him: But in my conscience he needed no more plague or punishment then such a Wife, wherefore I presently dismissed them both.

The Protector, a little before had given us, all the houses and ground which joyned to our pales, and belonged to those Chynois, which undermined our house, but although it were given, yet I thinke, there was never English-man paid so deere for so little ground, in any Countrey in the world: the houses were rotten, but the ground did us great pleasure. We bought also a house of a Pangran, or Gentleman, which came so neere our Pepper-house doore, that it was verie troublesome to us, when wee should carry in or out our Pepper, wherefore I bought that house with the ground, so that now we had a very spacious yard.

The ninth of September, the Protector sent a Proclamation, that no Chines should weigh any Pepper to the strangers, meaning the English and the Hollanders: the which Proclamation was procured by the Hollanders, and we knew it very well, for the same day they dined with us, and at dinner they told us, the Protector owed them ten thousand sacks of Pepper, but I told them that was not so, for they would never be such fooles to trust him so much. The next morning, I went to the old woman, who commands the Protector, and all the rest, and indeed is called Queene of the Land by the Sabindar, *The olde Queene.*

and divers others, although she bee not of the Kings blood, but onely for her wisedome, is held in such estimation amongst them of all sorts that she ruleth, as if she were soly Queene of that Country. After we had made our griefes knowne to her, she presently sent for the Protector, willing us to talke with him before her: when he came, I demanded of him, for what cause he had forbidden us to Trade; he answered, he must buy ten thousand sacks of Pepper for the King, I told him againe, that the Flemmings themselves told me, that the Pepper he would buy was for them, and that he owed them ten thousand sackes. Many shifts he used, but the Queene our constant friend said, he should not hurt us. For the Hollanders, when they saw they could get no trading with the people for Pepper, then they delivered the Protectour money, and wrought with him, as I have before rehearsed: and if we had had but ten thousand Rials of eight, more then we had, the Flemmings should have got little Pepper that yeare in Bantam. It is most certaine, they are very much hated there, and what they doe or procure, is for feare of their shipping, wherein they doe abound in all those parts. The twelfth of September, the Protector sent Rials up and downe amongst those that were dealers in Pepper. In the Kings Name, some to serve him an hundred sackes, some fiftie sackes, some ten, some five, as it were a begging, and indeed he tooke [I. iii. 177.] it up at the Kings price, which was ½. a Riall in a sacke lesse then we paid. The Chines with much grudging served him, a while after he set a taxe upon them to serve him so much more; then the Chines railed upon the Protector, and the Hollanders both, and many of them would not receive their money, but the Officers would throw it downe in their houses, and take their names.

The Towne fiered. The fifteenth of September, by meanes of an old Trot, which was making of Candles, the Towne was set on fire, the which consumed all the upper worke of our three houses, to our exceeding great danger, cost and trouble: The Sabindar came to us in the tumult, also the Admirall,

who had charge of the Court, in the Kings and Governors absence, then in progresse, sent us a great traine of his principall men; likewise, one of the Kings Unckles came to us with a great number, and also the rich Chyna, with a very great crew. All these came to see that no body should offer us any violence, for they knew well we had enemies of great force, but not for our sakes, but for our goods. Now we were laid open to all our enemies, for our fence for the most part was burnt to the ground, and we had not a place to dresse our victuals in, yet as good fortune was, we had one little shed in the middle of our yard, which was our Court of Guard, that escaped, where we incamped by night. The Dutch house escaped, though but narrowly, wherefore we borrowed some of their men. For it is to be noted, that though we were mortall enemies in our Trade, yet in all other matters we were friends, and would have lived and dyed one for the other. Also the Admirall and Sabindar sent us men every night, so that we with our Drum, Shot, and Pikes, lived a Souldiers life, untill our fence was made up, and afterwards too. For this was but to shew us the way, and our fence was no sooner up, but wee looked everie houre when it should be burnt downe, or borne downe by those that would have had the cutting of our throats.

Dutch enemies in trade, otherwise friends.

The Pangran Mandelicko in the end of September, fell to robbing of Juncks; one of which was of Jore, laden with Rice, Men and Women: with a great crew of villaines, his Slaves, he seazed on the Juncke in the night, and carried away all the Rice, with the Men and Women as his prisoners. The which was the next way to keep away all other Juncks, which used to bring victuals to the Towne, whereby to starve them all, for that land is not able to serve one quarter of the people that are in it. The King and his Protectour sent to him, commanding him to deliver the people and goods which he had taken, the which hee would not, but presently fortified himselfe. Also the rest of the Pangranes that were of the Kings blood, and his, but being all

Anarchy worse then tyranny. Many tyrants worse then one.

traytors to the King, maintained him, so that the Kings Officers durst not meddle with him. The Protector, Sabindar, and Admirall, sent to us to take heed to our selves, the Rebels grew every day stronger and stronger, and all the people in the Countrey, and also strangers began to be in great feare. I was forced to borrow some small Ordnance of Chyna Merchants, which were our friends, and with Chaines and Bushes to fortifie our selves, and our men were besides everie day, a making of Chaine-shot, Langrall-shot, and Crosse-barre-shot. All Trade of Merchandise was laid aside, neither did any in the Towne looke after buying and selling: And every day, we should have the Rebels espyals would come into our yard, who would be very inquisitive, what, and wherefore those were, which our men were all so hard at worke upon, wee would plainely tell them, that we looked every night for such a mans comming, wherefore we made provision for his entertainment.

Dangerous Rebels.

King of Jacatra.

About the twentieth of October, came in the King of Jacatra, with a crue of fifteene hundred fighting men, besides straglers, and had a thousand more comming after. Hee challenged the Rebels, and likewise the Pangranes to fight with him and his Company only: hee had indeed a great quarrell against them all, for but a little before, they sought meanes to put him out of his Kingdome, but the Rebels keepe their fortification, and would not come out. The sixe and twentieth of October, the King of Jacatra, and the Admirall sent for us, to know if there were no meanes to fire them a reasonable distance off, out of the reach of their Baces, of which they had a great number. We told them if there had beene a ship in the Road, it might easily have bin done, but for us to doe it, we thought we should hardly find things wherewithall. The Admirall asked me what things we would have, I told him Camphire, Salt-peeter and Brimstone; as for some things we had alreadie. The Admiral said he would helpe us to all these, and desired us wee would helpe them: also he had a long Bow and Arrowes,

fit for such a purpose, but I thinke a Musket had beene better. We were minded to have caused the Kings Ordnance to have beene planted, and to have shot red hot Bullets amongst them, which I thinke would have made perillous worke, both with them and their Thatched houses, and fortifications made of Canes. The principall Rebell had sought all the meanes he could to fire us, now we meant verily to see if we could fire him: but whether it was for feare of the King of Jacatra, or hearing wee were about such a matter: The Pangranes and the Rebels, both came to an agreement within two dayes after, the which agreement was this, that the principall Rebell should within sixe dayes depart out of the King of Bantams Dominion, having with him only thirtie of his houshold, the which hee did. For the space of ten dayes, we looked every houre, both night and day when the Kings Forces and the Pangranes would joyne battle, for they were both readie: but the Javans are verie loth to fight if they can chuse; the reason they say is, their wealth lyeth altogether in Slaves, so that if their Slaves be kild, they are beggered, wherefore they had alwayes rather come to a set-feast, then a pitched Battell.

Agreement.

Slaves cause of not fighting.

[I. iii. 178.]

The seventeenth day of November, which we tooke to be our Coronation Day, and having all our Peeces and Chambers lying laden since the troubles, we invited the Flemmings to Dinner, in the middle of Dinner we dranke a Health to our Queene, and also shot off all our Ordnance.

The Queene renowmed after her death.

There resort to this Towne of Bantam a number of many nations, the which divers of them are Liegers. These people having heard much fame of the English Nation in times past, before ever they saw any of us, had an especiall eye to our carriage and behaviour, and wee were growne a common admiration amongst them all, that wee being so few should carrie such a port as wee did, never putting up the least wrong that was offered by either Javans or Chinees, but alwayes did Justice our selves, and when the Protector did wrong us himselfe, it was

Fame of the English.

knowne that wee did not spare to tell him of it soundly, and in such sort that he wanted very much of his will. It is well knowne also, that at the first comming of our ships, the Javans offered us much wrong, in purloyning our goods, but so many as we tooke, were either slaine, wounded, or soundly beaten: the Javans thought we durst not doe so, when our ships were gone, wherefore they did practise to steale both day and night, but they found it all one, the which they did admire at, for it is most certaine, and I have heard many strangers speake it, that have beene present when wee have beaten some Javans that they never knew or heard of any Nation but us, that were Liegers there, that durst once strike a Javan in Bantam, and it was a common talke among all Strangers and others, how we stood at defiance with those that hated us for our goods, and how little wee cared for them. Likewise, how we never offered any wrong to the meanest in the Towne, and also how we were generally beloved of all the better sort: they would say, it was not so with the Flemmings, nor with no other Nation. And all the while I was there, I never heard, that ever the Flemmings gave a Javan so much as a box on the eare, but many times fowle of the Chinees, who will very seldome make any resistance, yet it is of truth, they are mortally hated, aswell of all sorts of Javans, as Chinees.

English resolution admired.

Hollanders hated.

Now every day they looked for their shipping, and having little Pepper, nor knew not where to buy any, for the Chinees would sell them none so long as we would give as much as they. And more then that; for when all our Rials was layd out, some of them sold us Pepper to bee paid when our ships came, not knowing when they would come, nor we neither at that time, but as we guessed. If they would have gone to the Flemmings, they might have had readie money, and great thankes. They therefore bought what they could by retayle in the Markets, sending it to a Chineses house by Boate in the evening, but the charge consumed the gaine.

Chinois fraud.

About this present time, the Emperour of Damack, who not many yeares before for tyrannie had beene deposed by the Kings thereabouts, going by Sea from Bantam, to another Towne upon the Coast, was by one of his sonnes stabd in his Bed sleeping.

The Chineses will mingle usually their Pepper in the night if you leave it with them, or put in dust, or transport it, and we should be sure to find that which wee had not liked, at one mans yesterday, now in another mans house, a good distance off, and the next night after at another house, as who should say, it was another parcell, and the olde Ware-house where it lay first should be shut, or a parcell of better Pepper in it.

In November, and the beginning of December, we were busied both in building and getting in, and making cleane of Pepper, the fourteenth of December, came in a Dutch Pinnasse, who told us of the death of our late Queene, and of the great Plague and Sicknesse, that had beene over all Christendome, which strooke more terrour to our mindes, then all the troubles wee had passed, but they could tell us no newes of our ships, which caused us much to doubt, only they told us, the King of Scots was crowned, and that our Land was in peace, which was exceeding great comfort unto us, also they told us of the peace that was likely to be betwixt England and Spaine. In all the Dutch Fleet, and because we heard of no Letters for us in the Pinnasse, I made haste, and went aboord the Dutch Admirall to bid him welcome, also to enquire for Letters, the which we found in their Vice-Admirall. The two and twentieth of December, by meanes of some of our friends, Uniete that was the principall that undermined our house, being descryed and taken, having beene long in the Mountaines, and for want of food, was forced to repayre to certaine houses neere the Towne, from whence he was brought to the rich Chinas house, so soone as I heard of him, I sent Master Towerson to the Protector to certifie him of it, and withall to tell him, we would shortly execute him, for since the time that this

First newes of Q. Eliz. death.

Principall Miner taken.

mischiefe happened, I never went out of sight of our house my selfe, but once, untill our ships came in, the which once was when the Protector crossed us, so that then I was constrayned, and my feare was so great, that I thought all would be burnt, before I should come back againe, likewise three times every weeke, I used to search all the Chinees houses round about us, for feare of more undermining.

[I. iii. 179.]

§. V.

Generall Middletons arrivall, the sickenesse and death of many. Quarrells twixt Ours and the Hollanders, begunne by Captaine Severson, a Dutchman, and the King of Bantams circumcision, and pompous Triumphes.

English shipping come, and their weaknes.

THe same day towards Evening, we descried our Ships comming into the Road, to all our extraordinarie great joyes; but when we came aboord of our Admirall, and sawe their weakenesse, also hearing of the weakenesse of the other three ships, it grieved us much, knowing that Bantam is not a place to recover men that are sicke, but rather to kill men that come thither in health. At my first comming aboord, I found our General, Captaine Henry Middleton, very sickly and weake; to whom I made relation in briefe what troubles we had passed; also I certified him neverthelesse, we had lading ready for two ships, which was some content unto his mind, very much grieved for the weakenesse of his men. They had hardly fiftie sound men in their foure ships, and of the sicke men a number died. Also of those that came thither in health, many never went out of the Road.

Bantam unhealthfull.

Henry Middleton Generall.

The foure and twentieth day, our Vice-Admirall, Captaine Coulthurst came a shore, with some other Merchants; on which day we executed this Villaine which we had lately taken. Having now slaine the fourth principall, and one more was kild for stealing of a woman: at my

Captaine Colthurst.

comming away there remained foure alive, of which, two were at Jacatra, one with Mandelicko the traytor, and one with Cay Sanapatty Lama, which we could not as then come by. The same day, our Vice-Admirall beeing accompanied with us there resident before, and also some other of the newe Merchants, went to the Court to certifie the King, that our Generall had Letters from the King of England, with a present for him, and more to tell him our Generall was weary, having been long upon the Seas, and so soone as he was a little refreshed, he would come himselfe to see him, and also to deliver the Letters, and the Present.

Letters from King James.

The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, we dined aboord our Generall: but I should have spoken before of a Counsell that was holden on Sunday, being the three and twentieth day, wherein it was thought of all, that the Dragon, and the Ascension were fittest to goe for the Moluccos, for divers reasons which need not here be rehearsed; and the Hector, and Susan to lade Pepper, and to be dispatched home. And the same weeke after, we were busied in getting of fresh victuals, Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers, for the recovery of our men, which were most pitifully payed with the Scurvy.

Dragon sent to the Moluccos.

Men sicke of the Scorbute.

The one and thirtieth day, our Generall came on shore, and beeing accompanyed with all the Marchants that were in health, and divers others, he went to the Court, and delivered the Kings Letters and Present, the which were as followeth: One faire Bason and Ewre, two faire standing Cups, all parcell-gilt, one gilt spoone, and sixe Muskets with their furniture: the which were kindly receïved. A day or two after our General spent in visiting our chiefest friends, as the Sabindar, the Admirall, the rich Chynois, and also gave them Presents, who very thankfully received them. After this, we fell all to worke, both ashore and aboord, to packe up, and take in goods for the Moluccos: but after our men were a little recovered of the Scurvy, the Fluxe tooke them, so that we continued still very weake in men, in so much, that it was unpossible in mans

Present to the King.

Fluxe succeeded the Scorbute.

judgement, that ever we should be able to accomplish our businesse in that manner.

On Monday, being the seventh of January, the Dutch fleet, being nine tall Ships, besides Pinnaces and Slupes, set sayle for Amboyna, and the Moluccos, so that we rested very doubtfull a long time, whether our ships should get any lading in those parts that yeere, by reason of their number of shipping which was gone before ours. Neither could our Ships possibly goe sooner, by meanes of our weakenesse.

Much sicknesse. The tenth of January, the ships that were bound home, began to take in Pepper, but they were so oppressed with sickenesse, that they could make no dispatch. The eighteenth day, our shippes having taken in all the goods which we thought meet for those parts, set sayle for the *The Ascention sent to Banda.* Ilands of Banda, having their men for the most part extreame weake and sicke: but how they spent their time untill their returne to Bantam, I must referre to their owne reports. Presently after the departure of these ships, the protector sent unto us to agree about Custome, the which we had thought we had known since our first shipping departed, but he asked many duties, which we never heard of before, & because I would not grant to pay them, he commanded the Porters they should carry no Pepper: wherfore to prevent that this should not be a hinderance to us in lading our ships (for we had hinderance enough besides) I was forced to agree with him, to pay in hand according to that rate as our ships paid before, and to let the full agreement rest untill the returne of our Generall, and he thought he did us great kindnesse herein.

Death of many. It pleased God to take away the two Masters of these two ships which we were now a lading, Samuel Spencer, Master of the Hector, and Habbakuck Pery, Master of the Susan.

[I. iii. 180.] Also William Smith, the principall Masters mate of the Hector, and soone after Captaine Styles, with many other of their principall men, with a number of their ordinarie saylers, so that we were not onely constrained to hire men to doe them all the ease we could there, but likewise to

hire so many as we could get of Goosserates and Chynois to helpe bring home our ships, to our exceeding great cost and charges. With much turmoyle, we got them both laden, by the sixteenth of February, but it was the fourth of March, before they could make their ships ready to set sayle.

Hector and Susan sent for England.

The fourth of March, the Hector and Susan set sayle for England, having sixtie three persons in the Hector of all sorts, English and others, but many of her owne men beeing sicke. The Susan so neere as I could learne, had forty seven of all sorts: also many Englishmen sicke, I pray God send us good newes of her, William Crane being Master of the Hector, and Richard Hacknesse, Master of the Susan.

A Holland ship.

The sixt of May, came in a ship from Holland, who had come all along by the Coast of Goa, and meeting there with two ships more of Holland, which were bound out for Cambaya, they three had taken foure Portugall ships, wherein they found great riches, onely one of them was laden with great horses, which they set on fire, and consumed both ship and horses. This ship came out of Holland in June, 1604. but they could certifie us of no further newes, then our own ships had done. Their Captaines name was Cornelius Syverson, who was a very proud Boore, and had neither wit, manners, honesty, nor humanitie, presently after whose comming in, the Flemmings withdrewe their familiaritie, which they were wont to hold with us, and that as wee thought, by Generall Warwicks charge to them.

Captaine Syverson first cause of breach betwixt Hollanders and English.

But now I will leave this contemner of curtesie and hater of our Nation, with his rascall crue which he brought with him, and speake somewhat of the manner and order of the Kings Circumcision, and of the Triumphes that were held there every day, for the space of a moneth and more before his going to Church, whereby all the better sort of that Country had beene busied, from the time of the comming in of the Chyna Juncks, which is in February and March, untill the foure and twentieth of June, about

Circumcision of the King of Bantam.

making preparation. There was a great Pageant made, the forepart of which was in likenesse of an huge devill, upon this Pageant was set three chaires of State, the middlemost was for the King, which was placed higher then the other by some two foote, on either of his hands were placed the sonnes of Pangran Goban, who is heire apparant to the Crowne, if the King should die without issue. This Pageant was placed on a greene before the Court gate, and rayled in round about. The manner of their Countrey is, that when any King comes newly to the Crowne, or at the Circumcision of their King, all that are of abilitie must give the King a present, the which they must present in open manner, with the greatest shew they are able to make. And those that are not able to doe it of themselves, doe joyne a Company of them together, and so performe it, both strangers and others. About the five and twentieth of June, these shewes began, and continued all that moneth, and the next, except certaine rainie dayes. The Protector began himselfe the first day, and every Noble man, and others had their dayes, not as they were in birth, but in readinesse, and sometimes two or three Companies in a day. Because the Javans are no good shot, the Protector borrowed shot both of us and the Flemmings; when they came to set forth, there was a great strife whether should goe fore-most, they contemning our paucity, and ours their sordidnesse. Our men were in neat apparell, with scarfes and coloured hat-bands; they in thrumbed greasy caps, tarred coates, and their shirts (if they had any) hanging betwixt their legges. Ours went therefore in the rereward, refusing to follow next after the Flemmings.

The difference twixt us and Javans, in militarie matters.

Every morning the Kings guard, which were both shot and pykes, were placed without the rayles round about the Pageant, beeing commonly in number, about three hundred men: but some principall dayes of shewes, there was upward of sixe hundred, the which were placed in files according to our martiall discipline. But in our march we doe much differ: for whereas wee commonly march,

three, five, seven, or nine, they never goe but one, and so follow one another so close as they can, bearing their pykes right upright. As for shot they have not beene used unto. Their drummes are huge pannes made of a mettall called Tombaga, which make a most hellish sound. They have also their Colours and Companies sutable, but their Standerds and Ancients are not like ours: their Ancient staffe is very high, bending compasse at the top, like the end of a long Bow but the Colours on it is hardly a yard in breadth, hanging downe from the top with a long pendant. The first day beeing the greatest day of shew, there were certaine forts made of Canes, and other trash, set up before the Kings Pageant, wherein were certaine Javans placed to defend them, and other companies were appointed to assault them, and many times the assaylants would fire them: but still when the Javans were at it in jest with their pikes, our men and the Flemmings were at it in earnest with their shot, and were forced to march apart. The Protector perceiving it, sent to them, desiring both parties to be quiet, whereupon they were quiet for that day. The next time we saw their Marchants, which was that Evening, I asked one of them if he thought Holland now were able to wage warre with England, that there should be such equalitie between their men and ours, to strive who should goe foremost? And likewise wee told them all, that if Englishmen had not once gone before, their Nation might have gone behind all Nations of Christendome long agoe: but they would answer that times and seasons doe change, and without doubt the greater multitude of them here, doe hold themselves able to withstand any Nation in the world: but I can say nothing of the opinion of their States at home, and of the wiser sort.

[I. iii. 181.] *Dutch ingratitude & Pride in many. In this businesse of the Dutch as the fault is not (I hope) Nationall but Personall, I have mollified the Authors stile, and left out some harsher censures. Beati Pacifici.*

Now a word or two in what manner the King was brought out every day, and what shewes were presented before him: Alwaies a little afore the shewes came, the King was brought out upon a mans shoulders, bestriding his necke, and the man holding his legs before him, and

The Kings triumphall pompe.

had many rich tyrasoles carried over and round about him: his principall Guard came out before him, and were placed within the railes, round about the Pageant. After the King came out, a number of the principall of the land, which gave their attendance upon the King, as it should seeme, they had their dayes and times appointed them. The shewes that were brought, came in in this manner:

The shot. First, a crue of shot beeing led by some Gentleman-slave, after followed the pikes, in the middle of which was

Musicke. carried their colours, and also their musique, which was ten or twelve pannes of Tombaga, carried upon a coulstaffe betweene two; these were tuneable, and every one a note above another, and alwayes two went by them which were skilfull in their Country musique, and played on them having things in their hands of purpose to strike them, also they had another kind of musique which went both afore and after, but these pannes are the principall. After

Targettiers & Darts. the pykes followed a crue of Targettiers with darts, then

Trees, Beasts, and Fowles. was brought in many sorts of trees, with their fruit growing upon them, then followed many sorts of beasts and foules both alive, and also artificially made, that except one had been neere, they were not to bee discerned from those that were alive.

Dancers and Tumblers. After these followed a crew attyred like Maskers, which before the King did dance, vault, and shew many strange kind of tumbling trickes, of these there were both men and women. After all these, followed sometimes two hundred, sometimes three hundred women, all carrying Presents only at every tenth woman, there went an old motherly woman Souldier to keep them in order, which

Presents. carryed nothing. These Presents were of Rice and Cashes, the which were layd in frames made of split Canes curiously set out for shew, with painted and gilded papers, but the present it selfe was not commonly worth above twelve pence or thereabouts. After them followed the rich presents, which was commonly a faire Tuck, and some fairer Cloth of their Countrey fashion, being curiously wrought and guilded, or imbroydered with Gold for the

Kings own wearing, the which was carryed also by women having two Pikes borne upright before them. Also every present which was for the Kings wearing, had a rich Tierasoll borne over it. Last of all followed the Heire to that party which sent the presents, which is their yongest sonne, if they have any, being very richly attyred after their Countrey manner, with many Jewels about their armes and middles, of Gold, Diamonds, Rubies, and other stones, having also rich Tierasoles borne over them, and a number of men and women attending on them; after hee hath done his obeysance to the King, he sits downe upon a Mat being layd upon the ground, which is their order in generall, the presents are all borne by the Kings Pageant into the Court, where there are some Officers appointed to receive them. After all which past, one within the Kings Pageant, speakes out of the Devils mouth, and commands silence in the Kings name. Then beginnes the chiefest of the Revels and Musicke, and now and then the shot discharges a Voley. Also the Pikemen and Targettiers with Darts doth shew all their feates of Armes: their shot is very unskilfull, but the Pikes and Targets are very expert, and alwayes when they come to charge their Enemie, they come towards him dancing, because his Adversary should have no steadie ayme to throw his Dart, or make a thrust at him. Likewise amongst some of these shewes there came Junckes sayling, artificially made, being laden with Cashes and Rice. Also in these were significations of Historicall matters of former times, both of the Old Testament, and of Chronicle matters of the Countrey, and Kings of Java. All these Inventions the Javans have beene taught in former times by the Chinees, or at least the most part of them; for they themselves are but Blockheads, and some they have learned by Goossarats, Turkes, and other Nations which come thither to trade.

Yongest Sonne Heire.

Revels.

Junckes and Juncates.

Histories.

We brought a very faire Pomgranate Tree being full of fruit growing on it, both ripe, halfe ripe, some young, and some budded: this Tree wee digged up by the roots, which wee set in a frame being made of Ratanes, or Car-

English Present.

ricke Rushes, somewhat like a Birds Cage, but very wide. At the roote of this Tree we placed earth, and upon that greene Turfes, so that it stood as if it had beene still growing; upon these Turfes we put three Silver-hayred Conies, which our Vice-Admirall had given me, and at the top, and round about upon the boughes, we with small threds made fast a number of small Birds, which would ever be chirping. Likewise, we had foure very furious Serpents, which the Chinees there can make artificially, upon these wee hung the Cloth which was for the Kings owne wearing, which were five pieces curiously wrought, and guilded after their fashion. Some other pieces of Stuffe there were also for the King to bestow upon some of his followers. More wee gave him a fayre Peternell damasked, and a Case of Pistols damasked, with very fayre Cases severally belonging to them, the which had great silke strings, with Tassels of Gold. Now we had no women to carry these things, wherefore we borrowed thirtie of the prettyest Boyes we could get, and also two proper tall Javans to beare Pikes before them. Master Towerson had a very prettie Boy, a Chinees sonne, whose Father was a little before slaine by Theeves: this youth we attyred as gallant as the King, whom we sent to present these things, and to make a speech to the King, signifying to him, that if our number had beene equall to our good wils, we would have presented his Majestie with a farre better shew.

Conies Rarities in Java.

[I. iii. 182.]

The King and divers others about him tooke great delight in the Conies. Also our men carried some Fire-workes with them, which were very rare matters to the young King and his play-fellowes, but the women cryed out, for feare they would set the Court a fire.

Fire-workes.

The Flemmings gave a present which they can easily bragge off, small matters, they doe not spare to bragge very much of their King, meaning Grave Maurice, whom they call in all these parts at every word Raja Hollanda. Much quarrell arose betwixt our men and them, the Flemmings in drinke still beginning and braving, and

Hollanders Vanities.

usually getting the worst. I had much to doe to restrayne our men, which yet was necessary considering wee had a great charge of goods, the charge of which lay upon me. Also wee were but badly housed, and in a dangerous Countrey, likewise if we gave them blowes, it was likely, a number of them would come upon us: we being but few could not defend our selves without shedding of bloud, the which would require revenge. They were above a hundred men in the House, Ship, and Flye-boat, which (no doubt) would have come upon us having such an occasion, and wee but thirteene in a Straw-house.

King of Jacatras pompe & homage.

The eighteenth of July, the King of Jacatra came in to present his shew before the King of Bantam, also to give his present, and to doe his homage, the which was performed the three and twentieth of July in this manner. In the morning early, the King of Bantams Guard (which was on this day an extraordinarie number) were placed in files, their Pikes set upright in the ground, and their shot lying in order, and every man sitting by his Armes, being clothed in red Coates. About eight of clocke my selfe with some other of our Merchants and men went to see this shew, and taking up our standing neere the Kings Pageant, the Kings Guard would often bid us sit downe, but we would answere, they must first bring us a forme: for indeed there is no Nation suffered to stand in the Kings or any great mans presence, if they be neere them. Wee and the Flemmings were commanded by the Officers to sit downe, as well as the rest, but wee were too stout (knowing they had no such Commission) to stoope under their yoke: but for other Nations they would bang them if they refused, although the ground and place where they should sit were never so durtie. But the Javans, who cannot indure to have any stand over them, would remove a good distance from us, and many of the Kings Guard forsooke their Weapons, and would goe sit afarre off, neither can they indure that one should lay his hand on their head, the which is not for any point of Religion, as

Standing a token of honour, sitting of submission, contrary to our Customes.

some will affirme, but only of meere Pride. 'Many times, when I have come into a Chinees house, where Javans have set in the floore, I sitting downe on a Chest, as our order was, they have all start up, and ranne out at doores: the Chinees would tell us, if any other Nation should doe so, but we or the Hollanders, they would stab them, but they durst not meddle with us.

But now to my former matter. About nine a clocke the King was brought out in the same manner, as I before have mentioned, some two houres after the King of Jacatra came, having a guard of some hundred persons about him: so soone as ever hee came in sight, the Kings Guard all rose up, and every man proved his Weapon, the which wee had never seene before when any shew came in, so that it should seeme that there was great feare, not that the King of Jacatra would offer any violence, but there was a number of other pettie Kings, who had great troupes of men, the which Kings were his mortall Enemies, wherefore fearing they might rise against him, we plainly perceived the King of Bantams Guard, had their charge to bee readie to defend the King of Jacatra, if such a matter should happen. When hee came neere the innermost file of the Kings Guard, he could not passe to the King but hee must needs goe thorow a ranke of these pettie Kings, whom he knew did most deadly hate him, wherefore fearing the cowardly stab, which is used amongst that Nation, he began to looke very gastly, and wildly on it, although he is as stout a man, as any is in all those parts: passe them hee would not, but sat downe, upon a Leather that was layed on the ground, the which every Gentleman hath carryed after him for that purpose. So soone as he was set, hee sent to the King, to know if it were his pleasure, hee should come unto him, whereupon the King sent two of the principall Noblemen about him, to conduct him to his presence, and after the King of Jacatra had done his obeysance, the young King imbraced him, and welcommed him according to the Countrey order: after this the King of Jacatra sat downe in a place appointed for

Many pettie Kings.

Cowardly stabs.

him. All this while there was some other prettie shewes presented.

About twelve a clocke came his shew and presents. The Souldiers came in order as I have before declared, being about three hundred in number, then followed so many women with Cashes and strange Fowles both alive and artificiall, and likewise many strange beasts; amongst which was one furious beast called by them a Matchan. This beast is somewhat bigger then a Lion, and very Princely to behold if they be at libertie, they are spotted white and red, having many black streakes which came downe from the reines of his backe under his belly. I have seene one of them jump at the least eighteene foot, by many mens estimation for his pray. They doe kill many people neere the Towne of Bantam, and many times the King and all the Countrey, goeth a hunting of them, not onely in the day time, but in the night. This Matchan, which I now spake of, was in a great Cage of wood, which was placed upon Trucks of old carriages, and being drawne in with Buffels, he lay for all the world like a Traytor upon a hurdle. There was drawne in like manner a huge Gyant, which by our estimation, might bee some thirtie foote in height: also a Devill came in, in like order: more there was drawne in a Garden having many sorts of hearbs and flowers in it. In the middle of which Garden, was a Fish-pond, wherein was divers sorts of small Fishes, and all sorts of Fishes which they doe know in those parts, were brought in either alive, or artificially made. Amongst these things, came in many Maskers, Vawters, Tumblers, very strangely, and salvagiously attired, which did dance and shew many strange feates before the King. There was drawne in likewise a very faire bedstead, whereon was a faire quilted bed: also eleven boulsters and pillowes of Silke, embroidered with Gold at the ends. The posts of the bedstead were very curiously carved and gilded, with a faire Canopy wrought with Gold: A number of other pretty toyes, were brought in and presented. Last of all, came in his youngest sonne,

King of Jacatraes Presents.

[I. iii. 183.]

Matchan a fierce wild beast.

A huge Gyant and a devill.

A garden and fish pond.

Maskers and Tumblers.

A Chariot drawne by Buffles.

Horses few & not used to drawe.

riding on a Chariot, but it was drawne with Buffels, which mee thought was very unseemely. Indeed they have but few horses, the which are small Nags. I never saw any of them put to draw, but onely to ride on, and to runne at Tilt, after the Barbary fashion (as I have heard some Barbary Merchants say) which exercise they use every Saturday towards Evening, except in their time of Lent, which is a little before ours.

King of Bantam circumcised.

The second day after this show was presented, being Friday, and their Sabboth, the King was carried on his Pageant to Church, where he was circumcised. His Pageant was borne by many men, it was reported to me by the Kings Nurse, foure hundred: but I think she lied, for me thought there could not stand so many under it.

The Generals returne from Ternata.

The foure and twentieth of July, our Generall came into the Road from Ternata: so soone as we discerned the shippe, and knew her to be the Dragon, I tooke a Praw and went aboord to bid him welcome, who declared to me the dangers they had passed, and also of the unkind dealings which he had of the Hollanders, albeit he saved some of their lives. Neverthelesse, he told mee hee had (though with great paines and turmoyle) gotten a good quantitie of Cloves towards his lading, the which was good newes to us, wherefore wee gave God heartie thanks for all, especially that he had brought him thither againe in safetie, not doubting but within short time, we should be able to furnish him with the rest of his lading. The eight and twentieth day, came in the great Encusen of Holland from Ternate: Also the same day the King of Jacatra came to see our Generall.

§. VI.

Further quarrels betwixt the English and Dutch, with other accidents.

THE first of August in the afternoone, our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, being very busie in the Ware-house, taking an Inventarie of the remainder of prize-goods, and all other goods, there was word brought that the Flemmings had wounded two of our men, the which we saw come bleeding in at the gate. Our Generall commanded every man to get him weapons, with all speed, and to lay them over the pates soundly, the which presently was performed: himselfe could find no weapon ready, wherefore hee tooke up a barre of Iron, but finding that too heavy, he came into the streete onely with a small Cudgell. The Flemmings were banged home to their owne gates, one was runne quite thorough the body, what became of him we could not certainely tell, yet some said he escaped it, two more lost their armes, the Merchants with divers others of their house came with shot. The Flemmish Merchants came to our Generall, but hearing that their men began, they answered, that they had but their desarts: and after they had drunke a Cup of Wine, they kindly tooke their leave of our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, and so departed. Newes was presently carried to the Court, how the Flemmings and we were by the eares, and that there was two slaine. Some about the King, asked whether they were English or Flemmings, which were slaine; answer being made, that they were Flemmings: They said, it was no matter if they were all slaine. In this broyle, I thanke God, we had no man hurt, but two, the which was done before the complaint came, neither had they any great harme; one having a slash over the hand, the other a stab under the side with a knife, which was not very deepe: this was the first time, but it was not

English wounded by the Dutch.

Dutchmen satisfied with their fellowes reward.

long, but we were at pell mell againe, and againe, where the Flemmings sped as they did now.

Ships from Cambaia.

The eleventh of August, came in two ships from Cambaya, who had taken great wealth from the Portugals, the same day came in one ship from Ternate. The sixteenth day, came in the Ascention from Banda; The eight of September, the Dutch Merchants invited our Generall, and all his Merchants and Masters to a feast, where there was great cheere, and also great friendship was made betweene us. The fifteenth day of September, two Dutch ships set saile for Holland, one being a small ship, which had laden Pepper at Bantam; the other, had taken in some Cloves at Ternate. The rest of her lading was of prize-goods, which was taken out of the ships which came from Cambaya. The one and twentieth day, came in the Dutch Admirall from Banda. The two and twentieth day, our Generall sent some of his Merchants to the Dutch house, to bid him welcome. On which day, a drunken Flemming caused a new fray, which began with our Surgeon, and after parts were taken on both sides, and some of the Dutch wounded.

The Ascention from Banda.

[I. iii. 184.]

New Dutch Fray.

Againe, about one a clocke the same afternoone, our Generall sitting upon a bench at our gate, talking with a Portugall which sate by him, who sometimes had beene of good reputation, there came one of their drunken Swads, and sate downe betweene our Generall and this Portugall. Our Generall seeing the rudenesse of this unmannerly Flemming, gave him a boxe on the eare, and thrust him away. Presently, divers of his consorts came about our gate, drawing their Knives and Sables, and began to swagger. We taking the But-ends of Pikes and Halberds, and Faggot-stickes, drave them into a Racke-house, who shutting the doore upon us, we brake it open, and knocked some of them downe, bringing them away as prisoners to our Generall. So many of the Flemmings as came by in peace, our Generall caused to goe into our yard, where they were in safetie, and those that would not, bare it off with head and shoulders. So soone as wee had

Another drunken quarrell of a Dutchman.

Racke house, where hot drinkes are sold.

beaten them well, that tooke the Racke-house, there came another troope of them downe the streete to take their parts, with whom we met; and after a few brabbling words past, we laid on such load, that they were forced to give ground, and to betake them to their heeles: some of them were beaten downe in the streete, and many had their pates pittifully broken, others were forced to runne thorough a great myrie Ditch, to escape from us, they were chased in at their owne gates.

Dutchmen chastised, and the bloudy designe thence intended.

The Master of their Admiral had occasioned this fray, and gone from ship to ship, to bid them goe weaponed on shore, and kill the English-men they met with. And when some went to goe aboord the Dutch shippes on business, some English-men of their Fleete, with weeping eies called to them, that they should not come: For strait order was given, to kill as many English-men as they could, either aboord or on shore, and willed them to certifie our Generall of it. Wherefore the Flemmings have no cause hereafter to complaine, but to say we dealt kindly with them: for the truth is, it lay in our hands that day, to have slaine a great number of them, the which had beene done, if our Generall had but given the word. These frayes were greatly admired at, of all Nations in that place, that we should dare to bandy blowes with the Flemmings, they having seven verie tall ships in the Road, and we but two. There was not one of our men had any harme, onely Master Sarys Merchant, who received a cut on the fore-finger with a Sable.

M. Sarys.

Dutch Generall satisfied.

At the latter end of this fray, the Dutch Generall came to our house, with a great Guard of Captaines, Merchants, and divers others, whom our Generall being in like manner accompanied, met in the streets, and brought him into our house. After the beginning of the matter was declared to the Dutch Admirall, he liked well of that we had done. Some of the Captaines about him said we complained, but their men bore away the blowes, as might appeare by their bloudy pates and shoulders: the Dutch Admirall answered, it was no matter, for he saw plainely, the fault

was in their men, wherefore hee would take order henceforward, that so many of them should not come ashore at once. After much talke had passed, and a banket of sweet meates ended, the Dutch Admirall kindly tooke his leave of our Generall: and all the rest of the Merchants, both English and Dutch, shaking hands one with another.

Javan theeves. There were certain Javans, which belonged unto two of the principall men of that Land, next unto the King, who had stolne nine Muskets and Callivers out of the Ascentions Gunner roome: shortly after two of them *Their taking.* comming to steale more, were taken by our people with the manner. Our Generall sent me aboord to examine them, and to bring them ashore. They first told me they belonged to great men, which were our very good friends, but I mistrusting they did dissemble with me, bid them confesse the truth, and they should find some favour, then they confessed truly whose Slaves they were, and said the Peeces were forth comming. After they came ashore, our Generall sent the King and the Protector word of it, and desired he might have his Peeces againe; The Protector sent to the Masters of these two Slaves for them, but they loving the Peeces better then their men, said they had no Peeces, but what they had bought with their Money, yet they sent to our Generall to desire him, to deferre their execution for a day or two, the which was granted: but because their Masters were no great good willers to the King, the Protectour in the Kings Name sent the Executioner to put them to death, with a Guard of Pikes. *Their execution.* When they came to the place of execution, our Generall taking pitty of them, would have given them their lives: But the Hang-man said, their lives were in the Kings hands, and not in our Generals, wherefore because the King had sent him, he would execute them. Which the two Theeves very patiently suffered, as the manner of all that Nation is, when they are bound to it. They doe hold it the greatest glorie that can be, to dye resolutely without any show of feare: and surely so they doe, in as

carelesse a manner as it is possible for flesh and bloud, the experience of which I have seene by divers, both men and women. One would thinke these men should be good Souldiers, but it is not so, this valour is but when there is no remedy. Against the people of those parts of the world, they are reasonable tall men, but they will not meddle with Christians, except they have some exceeding great advantage of number, or other meanes. [I. iii. 185.]

The sixe and twentieth of September, by meanes of a Javan shooting off a Peece, the Towne was set on fire, but by reason wee had good helpe of our Mariners, who were many of them ashore at that time, our house was preserved, but the Dutch house being to leeward, although they had never so much helpe, could not be saved, but the upper worke of one of their principall houses, which did joyne to their great house, was burnt, and all their out-houses, wherein lay cables, hawsers, pickled porke, and divers other things, whereby they sustained great losse. Some that had served there five yeares, lost all that they had gotten in those parts. *The Towne set on fire.* *Dutch house burned.*

Not long after this, the Towne on our side the way, was twice fired by the Javans in the night, which put us to great trouble, in carrying and recarrying our things, but by labour of our Mariners and the Chynees, it was quenched. The third of October, our Generall made a feast, which was for his farewell, whereunto he invited the Dutch Admirall, with all the rest of his Captaines, Masters, and Merchants, where wee were all exceeding merry, and great friendship was made betweene us. *The Towne twice fiered.*

The fourth of October, our Generall being accompanied with divers Merchants and others, went to the Court to take his leave of the King, and his Nobles. The sixt of October, being Sunday, about ten a clocke, our General, with all that were bound home, went aboord, who going by the Dutch house, went in, and tooke his leave of the Dutch Admirall, and the rest of his Merchants. Also there went aboord with him Master Gabriel Towerson, who was to stay for Agent there, and some other Mer- *Preparation to depart.* *M. Towerson.*

chants, who after dinner, some went ashore, and some stayed untill the next day. About three a clocke we wayed Anchor, and with some Ordnance bid the Towne and Dutch shippes farewell. About eleven or twelve a clocke at night, we came to an Anchor under an Iland, where the next day we tooke in wood, which our Generall had sent our men before hand to cut ready. The seventh day towards evening, we wayed Anchor againe, and set saile: Master Towerson, and some other of the Merchants, then tooke their leave to go ashore, whom wee committed to the protection of the Almightie; and our selves to the curtesie of the Seas, desiring God to blesse both them and us, and if it be his will, to send us a happy meeting againe in England.

Chap. V.

The second Voyage set forth by the Company into the East-Indies, Sir Henry Middleton being Generall: wherein were employed foure ships: the Red Dragon, Admirall; the Hector, Vice-Admirall; the Ascension with the Susan: written by Thomas Clayborne in a larger Discourse, a briefe extract whereof is heere delivered.

THe second day of Aprill, 1604. beeing Munday, about twelve of the clocke, we had sight of the Lizard. The three and twentieth day, West South-West to the West-ward, two and twentie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, and five minutes: and this day we fell with the Westermost part of S. Iago, beeing West by North sixe leagues, and at five of the clocke we stood to the East-ward for Maio, the wind at North.

The Isle of S. Iago. Maio.

The foure and twentieth day we fell with Maio, and stood to the South-ward of the Iland, and came to anchor

at fifteene fathomes, one point North-West and by North, and the other East South-East.

The five and twentieth day we landed, and lost one of our Merchants, who was taken by the people of the Iland. *They land in Maio.* The sixe & twentieth day in the morning, we landed an hundred men to see if we could get our Merchant againe, but could not come neere any of the people of the Iland; so we left him behind us, and this night about nine of the clocke wee set sayle, the wind at North.

The sixteenth day of May, latitude 00. fifteene minutes, and this day we passed the Equinoctiall. The thirteenth of July in the forenoone, we had sight of Cape Bona Esperanza being off us fifteene leagues. The seventeenth day we came to anchor in the Road of Saldania, *They came to an anchor in the roade of Saldania.* having sixtie men sicke of the Scurvy, but (God be praysed) they all recovered health before we went from hence. Saldania is in latitude thirty three degrees, fiftie sixe minutes, or thirty foure degrees. Here M. Cole *M. Cole drowned.* was drowned, beeing Master of the Hector, our Vice-Admirall: and here we stayed five weekes wanting a day.

The twentieth day of August being Munday we [I. iii. 186.] weighed, and set sayle out of the Road of Saldania, the wind Southerly, and we stood to the West-ward.

The three and twentieth of December, being Sunday, we came to anchor in Bantam Roade, where we found sixe *Bantam.* Holland shippes, and three or foure Pinnasses.

The eighteenth day of January, we set sayle out of Bantam roade, with the Dragon and the Ascention; but they parted at Amboyna. The Generall went with the *Amboyna.* Dragon to the Moluccas, and the Ascension (whereof M. *The Moluccas.* Colthrust was Captaine) for Banda; and the Hector and the Susan laded Pepper at Bantam, and set sayle from thence about the middle of February.

The twentieth day of February, the Ascension arrived at Banda, and anchored in foure fathoms and an halfe by *Banda.* Nera, which is the cheifest place in those Ilands. From *Nero.* the South-part of Amboyna to Banda, the course is East

by South, to the South-ward thirtie leagues: the latitude of Banda is foure degrees, fortie minutes, and the going in is to the West-ward. There is a very high hill that burneth continually, and that Hill you must leave on the Larbord-side, and the other great Iland on your Starboord side. The going in is very narrow, and you cannot see it till you come within halfe a mile: but feare not to stand with the Iland, that the high Hill is on, while you come within two Cables length of it; for so you must doe, and then you shall have about twentie fathomes; and then stand along still by that Iland about a Cables length from it, if the wind will give you leave, and then you shall find shallower water, eight, seven, sixe fathoms, and in the very narrow of all, you shall have five fathomes, and so that depth untill you come into the Road.

Banda is in 4. degrees 40. minutes.

An high burning hill in Gunnanappi.

By Gods helpe, a man may goe in without any danger, keeping neere unto the aforenamed Iland: it is somewhat shallow on the Star-boord side, in the narrow of the going in, but that will shew it selfe. There are two small Ilands, one called Puloway, and the other Pulorin, and they lie about three leagues to the West-ward of the going in: there is no danger about them, but may be very well perceived. You may leave those Ilands on which side you please, either at your going in, or comming out.

Puloway.

Pulorin.

About the middle of March, here we found the wind to be variable, and so continued till the middle of Aprill; and then it continued, and stood betweene the East and South-East, foure moneths to our knowledge. But it doth use to continue five moneths, as the people of the countrey say, and likewise five moneths betweene the West and North-West, and the other two moneths variable. Here in the darke Moones it is given much to gusty weather, and much raine. Here we stayed one and twentie weekes, and sixe dayes, in the which time we had eleven men died, and most of the Fluxe.

The Monsons.

They stayed in Banda 21. weekes.

The one and twentieth day of July, 1605. beeing Sunday, we set sayle from Banda, the wind at East South-

East, and we stood to the West-ward. The two and twentieth day, we fell with the South-end of Burro, the wind at East South-East. *Burro.*

The seven and twentieth day we fell with Deselem, and then we came about the South-end of the Iland, leaving seven Ilands on our Lar-boord side. We stood close by the wind to the North-ward, faire by the maine Iland of Deselem, to cleare our selves of a small Iland and a shold, that lieth off the South-West part of Deselem, and leaving this Iland, and all the other sholds on our Lar-boord-side, we stood North, North-West, along the West side of Deselem, while wee came in sixe degrees and tenne minutes: then we steered West eighteen leagues, and fell with the point shold that lieth off the South-West end of Celebes: And the very Souther-most part of that shold, lieth in sixe degrees, and beeing cleare of that, we stood to the West-ward. *Deselem.* *Celebes.*

The sixteenth day of August, we came to anchor in Bantam road. *Bantam.*

The sixt day of October beeing Sunday, we set sayle out of Bantam roade, with the Dragon and the Ascention. *They returne from Bantam for England.*

The fifteenth day of November, latitude thirty one degrees, fortie eight minutes, the wind North North-West, thicke foggy weather. This day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, we came within a ships length of a Rocke, or sunken Iland: the water shewed upon it very browne, and muddie, and in some places very blue, and beeing a ships breadth or two to the North-ward of it, we saw the water by the ships side very blacke and thicke, as though it had been earth, or grosse sand boyling up from it. The variation in this place, is one and twentie degrees from North to West decreasing. *Note. A sunken Iland.* *The variation 21. degrees from North to West decreasing.*

The sixteenth of December, West nine leagues, latitude thirtie foure degrees, and twentie minutes. This day in the morning we had sight of the land of Ethiopia, distant from us some twelve leagues. *Sight of land.*

The sixe and twentieth day, latitude thirty foure degrees, thirty minutes. Now beeing in the latitude, and

The cape of Bona Esperansa.

in the sight of Cape Bona Esperansa, and within one league of it, we steered North-West, and North North-West, and North, and as the land lay about the Cape.

Saldania road.

The seven and twentieth day, we came to anchor in Saldania roade, where we found our Admirall, and the Hector, which ship the Dragon, our Admirall, met withall seven dayes before, driving up and downe the Sea about foure leagues off the Cape Bona Esperansa, with tenne men in her. All the rest of her men were dead, which were in number three and fiftie, which died since she came out of Bantam, which time was nine moneths: being in great distresse, shee lost company of the Susan, three moneths after she came out of Bantam roade, which ship (the Susan) was never heard of since. Here we came to anchor in seven fathomes, having the low point going in North-West by West, and the Sugar-loafe South-West, ½. a point to the West-ward, the point of the breach of Pengwin Iland North-West by North, and the Hill betweene the Sugar-loafe and the low point, West South-West, the peake of the Hill to the East-ward of the Table, South by East.

53. *men dead out of the Hector.*

[I. iii. 187.]

The Susan utterly lost.

The sixteenth day of January in the morning, we set saile from Saldania Road, and went to the Northward of Pengwin Iland, betweene that and the Mayne. When wee had the Iland South from us about one mile and a halfe we sounded, and had ground twentie fathomes, white Corrall, and Whistles of shels. When we were cleere of the Iland, we stood off West by South, and West South-west, while we brought the Iland South-east by East off us, now being about sixe of the clocke in the after-noone, we had sight of the Hector, comming out to the Southward of the Iland, for we left her at Anchor when we weighed. Now the wind being at South, we stood all night to the West-ward, close by a wind, in the morning following we had lost sight of the Hector, and then we steered away North-west with a low saile while noone, being the seventeenth day thinking to get sight of the Hector, but we could not.

The first day of February, West to the Southward sixteene leagues of Latitude, sixteene degrees and twentie minutes: this day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee had sight of Saint Helena, bearing West to the Northward from us, about twelve or thirteene Leagues.

The second day West, and West by South foure Leagues, then having the Iland West from us about eight or nine Leagues, the wind at South-east wee lay off and on, to the Eastward of the Iland, most part of the night, and in the morning following, we stood to the Northward of the Iland.

This day about twelve of the clocke, wee came to anchor in the Road of Saint Helena, our Land anchor lay *Santa Helena.* in seventeene fathomes, our shippe rid in twentie fathomes, blackish, gravelly sand. We had one point North-east of us, and one sharpe Hill like a Sugar-loafe (with a Crosse on the top of it) that bare North-east by East. The Church in the Valley South-east. In this Valley there are many Trees likewise, the high-land South-east up from the Church, and all the Valley besides is full of Trees: the other point of the Land South-west to the West-ward. Wee mored South-east, and North-west. Our anchor in the offing lay in one and twentie fathomes.

The third day at night being Munday we had sight of the Hector, comming about the South end of the Iland, *The Hector.* but could not fetch into the Roade, yet stood to the Northward as neere as she could lye, the wind at East.

The foure and five dayes, our Boates went out to helpe to get her into the Roade, but they could not.

The sixt day at night being a little wind, wee towed her in with our Boates, into thirtie five fathomes, one mile and a halfe from the shore, bearing from us South-west by West, distant about two Leagues.

The eleventh day, we set saile from Saint Helena, the wind at East North-east, and we steered North-west. *Seven degrees fortie five minutes of variation.* This North-west part of the Iland lyeth in the Latitude of sixteene degrees, and in seven degrees, fortie-five minutes

of Variation. Note this, that the Church that bare South-east of us, when wee were in the Roade, standeth in the bottome of the fift Valley from that point that bare North-east of us.

We came to anchor in the Downes, on the sixt of May 1606. where wee rid eight dayes for a faire wind.

[I. iii. 188.]

Chap. VI.

A Journall of the third Voyage to the East India, set out by the Company of the Merchants, trading in those parts: in which Voyage were imployed three Ships, viz. the Dragon, the Hector, and the *Consent, and in them the number of three hundred and ten persons, or thereabouts: written by William Keeling, chiefe Commander thereof.

*The Consent, held no concent with the Dragon and Hector, whose Voyage you shall have by it selfe. This Journall of Coptaine Keelings and that of Captaine Hawkins, written at Sea-leasure, very voluminous in a hundred sheets of Paper; I have beene bold to so shorten as to expresse only the most necessary Observations for Sea or Land Affaires.

§. I.

Their disasters and putting backe for Sierra Leona, and what happened till they departed from Saldania.

APrill the first 1607. the Dragon and Hector were fallen as low as the Downes: and after their departure from thence their hopes were by divers disasters so fallen downe, and crossed, that after they had passed the Line in the beginning of June, piercing foure or five degree of Southerly Latitude, they were inforced by Gusts, Calmes, Raines, Sicknesses, and other Marine inconveniences to returne Northward: and missing the Ile of Fernando de Loronha, certaine of nothing but uncertainties which much amazed them, The Generall on July the thirtieth, having consulted with Taverner the Master, and hearing his answere that they must bee driven to returne for England, the whole Company expecting no other (all which to recite would

at once both becalme and bestorme the Reader) they consulted for their best course, wherein (you shall have it in his owne words) we had some speech of Sierra Leona. I, having formerly read well of the place, sent for the *Booke, and shewed it my Master, who as my selfe, tooke good liking to the place. Whereupon, my Company beginning to bee grievously diseased, wee, without hope to get Fernando de Loronha, (water being our speciall want, and a watering place so nigh) I called a counsell: and after Dinner propounded what was fittest for us to doe. They were generally of opinion, that we had no reason to stand to the South any longer, for many reasons: and demanding their opinions, concerning a place of watering, Churchward, Savadge, and Taverner, opined Mayo the fittest, how much without reason, I leave to judgement. Earming, Pokham, Mollineux, and my Master, held Sierra Leona fittest; and my selfe, the Author thereof, for many causes. Wherefore, we concluded to seeke for Sierra Leona. I acquainted my Company with our determinations, to their great comfort.

*M. Hackluits books of Voyages are of great profit. This saved the Company, as Sir Th. Smith affirmed to me, 20000. pounds, which they had bin endamaged if they had returned home, which necessitie had constrayned, if that Booke had not given light.

This morning the fourth of August, we saw many Flowres, a signe of Land, and this evening we had ground from twentie eight to sixteene fathome Ozy, but no sight of land.

Conclusion to seek Sierra Leona.

Many flowres, a signe of land.

I hoysed out my Schiffe, and sent her to ride neere us, to prove the set of the Current: she found by the Logline, the Current to set South-east by East two miles a watch; howbeit the Schiffe roade wind-road. We steered all this morning East, and East by South, and had from thirtie to twentie, and ten fathome water: no sight of land, and the greatest depth was Ozy, the least a grosse yellow sandie ground.

Currents.

About nine of the clocke, we espyed the land, being a round plot of meane altitude, bearing North-east from us, about eight leagues.

Sight of land.

We were at noone in the latitude of seven degrees and fiftie sixe minutes, and have steered all day East, sometimes North, sometimes Southerly, one point, as our water

deepned or shoaled: for we had oftentimes ten fathome upwards, and at the next cast seven fathome under pittie ground. And when we found shoale water, as we bare up Northerly, we deepned, instantly (a perswasion that we borrowed upon the shoales of Saint Anna, alias Madera Bomba) I allow since yesterday at noone, fourteene leagues East, and five leagues West, wind at South, and South by West, and South by East.

In the after-noone we had nine, ten, eleven and twelve fathome water.

Ilha Verde a very round Land. The first land proved Ilha Verde, being a very round land, and a notable marke, for whosoever is bound for the place, from the Southwards.

[I. iii. 189.] About seven in the evening, we anchored in twentie fathome water, hard sand, having steered six leagues or more North-east, and North North-east, the South part of Ilha Verde, bearing East off us: and the Cape of Sierra Leona, being a low point North by East, about eight leagues from us: but the said land over the said Cape, is very high land, and may bee seene in a cleere, fifteene leagues off.

About sixe in the morning, wee made saile for the Roade, and had no lesse then sixteene, fifteene, ten or nine *The Rocke.* fathomes, till we were North and South with the Rocke, (which lyeth to the Westward of the Cape of Sierra Leona) about 1. ½. miles; and one mile from the neerest shoare) within halfe a mile thereof, we had then, seven fathome very good shoaling, betweene us, and the Rocke. And *A sand on the North shore.* soone after we had passed the Rock, we had twentie fathome water, and shoalded to eighteene, sixteene, twelve, and ten fathome, all the way into the Roade, borrowing very neere the South shore. For there is a sand lying off the North shoare about two miles, or a league from the South shore, whereon the Sea breaketh. Wee road in *Sierra Leona.* ten fathome water, good ground, the point of Sierra Leona, bearing West Northerly, the North point of the Bay North Westerly, and the foresaid breach or Sand, North, North-east.

Note. Note, that comming in, when we were North and South

with the Rocke, it bare with the South point (for Sierra Leona is the North point of the South land making the Bay, or River) and Ilha Verde, North by West and South by East.

This afternoone, being anchored, we espyed men to weave us a-shore. I sent my Boate, which leaving two Hostages, brought foure Negroes, who promised refreshing.

My Schiffe sounded betweene us, and the foresaid Breach, and found faire sholding, having two fathome water, within two Boats length of the Breach.

Note, that all the Observations of the Variation, since our comming from two degrees of North latitude to this place, proved erronious: for to each distance, having reference to any Meridian Easterly thereof, there must be added thirtie leagues, and from such as are referred to Meridians Westerly, must be substracted thirtie leagues. For it appeareth by our falling with the land, that the ship was so much more Westerly, then we supposed our selves; my selfe notwithstanding the said errour, being as much, if not more Westerly, then any of our Mariners. Howbeit, I wish every man to trust to his owne experience; for, Instruments may deceive even the most skilfull. *A special note. Variations.* *Good admonition.*

The seventh, there came Negroes of better semblance, aboord with my Boate (for whom, as for all other, wee were faine to leave one of my men, for two of them in hostage) who made signes, that I should send some of my men up into the Countrey, and that they would stay aboord in hostage. I sent Edward Buckbury, and my Servant William Cotterell with a Present, viz. One course Shirt, three foot of a barre of Iron, a few Glasse Beads, and two Knives. They returned towards night, and brought me from the said Captaine, one small earing of Gold, valued at seven, eight, or nine shillings sterling: and because it was late, the Hostages would not goe ashore, but lay aboord all night, without pawne for them.

I sent my Boate, and fetched five tunnes of fresh water, both very good and easie to come by. *A good watering place.*

The eleventh, I went a-shore a fishing, where the people brought their women unto us, but feared we would carry them away. I gave some trifles, we bought good store of Limons, two hundred for a penny Knife, wind at East.

The twelfth, I went but tooke little fish, wind from North-west to South, rainie weather.

The thirteenth, It rayned without intermission: we got fish enough for a meale.

I bought an Elephants tooth of sixtie three pound English, for five yards blue Callico, and seven or eight pound of Iron in barre.

The fourteenth, I kept aboord, all day rainie.

Six thousand fishes taken in an houre an halfe.

The fifteenth, I went and tooke within one houre and a halfe, six thousand small and good fish Cavallos.

After noone, with Captaine Hawkins, and a convenient Guard, I went ashore, and to the Village, where we bought two or three thousand Limons. We esteeme it a faire day, wherein we have three houres dry over head.

Weather.

The sixteenth, I licenced our weekly Workers to recreate themselves with me ashore, where in our large walke, we found not past foure or five acres of ground sowed with Rice: the superficies of the ground is generally an hard Rocke.

This only day, hitherto, we had faire weather.

The seventeenth, It was all day faire weather. I appointed making of Limon-water.

The twentieth, John Rogers returned and brought me a present of a piece of Gold, in forme of an halfe Moone, valued at five, six, or seven shillings sterling. Hee reporteth the people to bee peaceable, the chiefe without state, the landing two leagues up, and the chiefe Village eight miles from the landing.

The two and twentieth, We went a-shore, where we made six or seven Barricoes full of Limon-water. I opened the Companies Firkin of Knives to buy Limes withall.

Limon-water.

[I. iii. 190.] The seventh of September in the after-noone, we went all together a shore, to see if we could shoot an Elephant:

we shot seven or eight bullets into him, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his tracke, but being neere night, we were constrayned aboord, without effecting our purposes on him. *An Elephant shot.*

The best Roade and watering place is the fourth Bay, to the East-ward of the point Sierra Leona. It floweth neerest West South-west, within where we roade: and the water highest upon a Spring-tyde at the least, twelve foote. *The best road.*

After noone, the wind came at West South-west, and wee anchored in ten fathome water, Ilha Verde bearing from us South-east ½. South, and the point of Sierra Leona North-east by East ¼ Easterly, about three leagues from us, where wee found the floud to set North-east by North, a strong tyde.

I have at no time observed the Sunne in the Roade, howbeit I have sundry times purposed the same, both aboord and ashore, but the Master made the Roade by his observation, in eight degrees and thirtie sixe minutes of North Latitude, and the point of Sierra Leona, bare neerest West about a league or foure miles off. The Master also made the Variation to bee one degree, fiftie minutes North-easting: but my Instrument was out of order, and I had no time to mend it. *Latitude of Sierra Leona, 8. 36. North.* *The Variation 1. degr. 50. min.*

The fourteenth in the morning, we wayed the wind all Easterly: but about eight it calmed, and we drave to the North againe: after with the ebbe, drave to the South-west by South, toward night, the floud being come, we anchored in 15. ½. fathome water: the point of Sierra Leona bearing North-east by East, about seven leagues off us. We have not had lesse then ten fathome water, all day. They found a Current setting North by West, on the sixteenth day.

The seventeenth of December, About two in the afternoone, we saw the land, the Table at Saldania very plaine, and stood in to make it, till three, then I caused the Master to steere East South-east, and South-east by East, to put about the Cape: what time sicke, and whole, desired *Saldania.*

to put into Saldania. Whereupon wee bare up for Saldania, and about noone wee got into the Roade anchoring in 5. ½. fathome water: the West point bearing West North-west, the Iland North North-west, and the Sugarlofe South-west.

The Sugarloafe.

Penguin Iland. The Westermost Cape Land, and Pengwin Iland bare South by West, &c. There is a breach South of the Iland, about a mile distant.

Betweene the Iland and shore are seven miles distance. The Sugar-loafe and the Ile, beare South by East, and North by West. From the West point of the Bay, halfe a mile off is a flat. The Westermost South land, and point of the Sugar-loafe, beareth South South-west, and North North-east.

There is another breach, which lyeth East South-east from the Iland halfe a league off.

As soone as I was anchored, I sent a shore, finding the people very bold, but deare. I found ashore these words engraven upon a Rocke, viz. The foure and twentieth of July, 1607. Captaine David Middleton in the Consent.

The arrivall of the Consent at Saldania July 24. 1607.

The one and twentieth, I went ashore, where we bought a hundred and two sheepe, twelve Bullockes and two Calves, whereof I allowed the Hector a proportionable share, and this continued divers dayes in which they bought much Cattell.

102. sheepe. 12. bullocks. 2. calves. They bought for 200. yron hoopes, 450. sheepe, 46. cowes, 19. steeres, 9. calves, and one Bull.

§. II.

Their departure from Saldania, and what happened after till the shippes parted company.

THe first of January, 1608. by Sunne rising we were both under saile, and by sixe in the Evening, we were tenne leagues West Southerly from the South point of the Bay. The nineteenth we shipped much water at the Helme port, and at the hole abaft in my Gallery, about two after mid-night, which wet some of our bales of cloth. Latitude thirty five degrees, twenty two minutes, I allow thirteene leagues South South-East, wind, East

Sea shipped.

North-East, and North-East, sixe leagues drift South, and three leagues North-East wind all Westerly. Our too great quantitie of kintledge goods, maketh our ship to labour marvelously: wherein the Company must have speciall care, another Voyage. *Dragon laboursome.*

The twentieth, I aired and dryed our cloath, also oyled the Companies peeces and blades. I strengthened the cases of Callicoes, &c. I allow thirty leagues North-East as we steered, wind at South-West and South. This afternoone, contrary to expectation, and to the admiration of all our Marriners, we saw the land, bearing North North-West, about twelve leagues off, wee in the latitude of thirty foure degrees. And surely, but that I had many deare experiments of the strength of the Westerly current in my last voyage, I should likewise admire: albeit I am more Westerly then any, by reason I doubted currents for causes before noted, beeing by reckoning an hundred leagues more Easterly, then the sight of land approoveth us. *Land.*

The two and twentieth, Latitude thirtie foure degrees, foure minutes. I allow thirtie three leagues East by North, Northerly, wind South and South South-West. But by this reckoning, the ship should have been in thirtie three degrees, twelve minutes, and wee find her fiftie more South, caused by the Current. Whereby it is evident, that such as depend upon their dead reckoning and judgement, without respect had to the currents, must needs make intollerable errors. I bring the ship to her latitude upon a South line, in her distance Easterly. [I. iii. 191.] *Note.*

I must acknowledge, that in judgement the Current must be of greatest power here abouts, the land falling away suddenly North-East, and South-West, and we opening the gut. And I presume, that as we come more Easterly, past the middle of the gut, we shall find the Currents force diminished.

The twentie fift, latitude thirty foure degrees fiftie one minutes. Judgement alloweth for three ½. watches, nine leagues North-East by East, wind South-West: and for

two watches, five leagues South wind, all Easterly, and East North-East: yet note, how we are continually carried to the South, contrary to reasonable judgement.

The sixe and twentieth, latitude thirtie five degrees, twentie eight minutes. I allow thirteen leagues South South-East wind, at East North-East: so I do not finde that the Current useth such violence as before, except we should be carried by the streame, as much Westerly off the South, as I allow her Easterly thereof, which would raise or depresse the Pole, in the same proportion: but herein our variation (being well observed) will resolve us.

The seventeenth of February, we saw the land bearing East, about eight leagues from us, and as I deeme, in the latitude of twentie foure degrees, twenty minutes. We stood in till after sixe a clocke, at what time, beeing within foure leagues of the shore, we flatted, the Hector beeing too neere a sterne for us to stay. Where we tacked, we had no ground at eightie or ninetie fathomes, no great marvell, for it is low smooth land.

Two Ilands. About noone, we were thwart of two small Ilands, seeming to make a good roade: wherefore not knowing our latitude, we stood off till we could observe, it being nigh noone. Note, wee could have no ground at sixtie fathomes within two miles of the shore.

The eighteenth, latitude twentie three degrees, thirty seven minutes: wherefore we stood in againe, supposing this to be the place we sought: but comming neere the shore, and having sent both Schiffes a head, they found *Anchored.* but sixe fathome water; for which, we anchored in seven ½. fathome water, sandy ground, about one in the afternoone, the two Ilands and breach bearing South Westerly, a mile from us.

There is an Inlet about three leagues from us East Northerly, which the Master supposeth to be S. Augustine, *A Counsell.* and we purpose to search the same. I called a Councell, where we resolved to make some small stay at S. Augustine. *Variation 15. 30.* Variation in this place, is fifteene degrees, and thirtie minutes.

Variation' againe observed this morning, is fifteene degrees, twentie sixe minutes, but I was faine to observe over the Land halfe a degree high: otherwise, I should have made somewhat more variation, and to these two observations, I repose great trust. It floweth East. *Variat.* 15. 26. *Tyde.*

The nineteenth, we weighed this morning, and in the weighing brake one of our anchors, through defect therein. And surely, the matter deserveth much blame, but I referre me for the particulars, to a Certificate which I purpose to make thereabout. *Anchor brake.*

We steered for the above-mentioned seeming Harbour, or Bay, and found, from whence wee weighed, from tenne, twelve, to twentie fathome: and comming neere the point, in the height of the Bay, we had no ground at an hundred fathomes, till we came very farre into the Bay (our Schiffes being before us, and having ground) and then we had from thirtie to eight fathome, and further in deepe water. We anchored in eighteene fathome, and laid another anchor in forty fathome, the South shoare beeing the deepest water, the other, beeing by the comming downe of rivers made shallow.

The twentieth, we had seventie fathome water at the ship, the ground oaze. The land beareth West by South, and North of us: and to the North are certaine sholds, and a breach, bearing North-West of us: so that we are but five points of the Compasse, open to winds: but the roade is very pitty ground, and deepe water: and there runneth a strong streame downe the river continually. Captaine Hawkins came aboord me, whom with both our Schiffes strong, I sent a shore my selfe beeing ill at ease. Toward night he returned aboord, without having seene any people; but their fresh tracke in divers places. They left some beades and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the naturalls. He affirmeth little likelihood of refreshing here: but my fishers from the other side, tell me of Beasts bones good store, and bones have had flesh. *S. Augustine.*

George Evans, one of the Hectors Company, was shrewdly bitten with an Alegarta. *George Evans bitten by an Alegarta.*

I willed all speed in filling our water, and in the meane time, purpose to seeke for refreshing. It floweth here neerest East, and higheth much water.

Tyde.

The one and twentieth, we espyed foure Naturals, I sent to present them beads, &c. they promised by signes store of cattell the morrow.

Naturalls.

The two and twentieth, seeing people I went a shore, where we found a subtill people, their bodies strong, and well framed: their privities onely carelesly covered, with cloath made of the rindes of trees. We bought one Calfe, one Sheepe, and one Lambe: but they would not deale save for silver, by any meanes.

People.

[I. iii. 192.]

After noone, I rowed up the river, aswell to looke for the best watering, as otherwise. The water is very shallow, and brackish.

The foure and twentieth, I went a shore, seeing one man there, where we bought three Kine, two Steeres, and foure Calves: they cost us nineteene shillings sterling, besides a few beads.

Nine Beasts cost 19. shillings sterling.

The Cattell are farre better flesh then those of Saldania, with bunches of flesh on their shoulders, like those of the Cammels, save that they stand more forward.

Oxen with bunches on their shoulders.

The people are circumcised, as some affirmed to have seene.

People circumcised.

Here we found the beautifull beast.

A beautifull beast.

Water by the ships side, at an high water very fresh, and at a low water very salt, contrary to sense. Also, fresh water at high water on one side of the ship, and very salt on the other side, the ship tide roade.

Note.

The five and twentieth, in a gust at North-West, our ship drave, and the cable broke, and we lost the anchor. We bought one Calfe, and one Sheepe, and one Lambe great tayled, which cost two shillings three pence. I found certaine Spiders, whose webbe was perfect good, and strong as silke.

Anchor lost.
Three beasts cost two shillings 3. pence.
Spiders.

Note, that all along the low land, from East to West a ledge of rockes lyeth ½. a mile from the shore, whereon the Sea breaketh continually: betweene which and the shore,

is two fathome water neere to, good for landing, and marvelous full of fish, fit to haile a net in.

The eight and twentieth in the morning betimes, we were under sayle to put to sea. There lieth a breach foure miles from the North point of the Bay, South South-East. Note, that the ridge of land, like a roofe or barn, is about five miles to the Northward of the middest of the Bay. I conceit this Bay of S. Augustine to be unfit for any shippes to expect refreshing, it beeing to be had but in small quantitie: the place very untoward for riding, the water deepe, the ground pitty and foule, as appeareth by the cutting of our cable. *Note.* *S. Augustine unfit to refresh.*

The twelfth of March, latitude fifteene degrees fiftie minutes. We sounded sundry times in the afternoone, and had no ground at ninetie fathome, and before eight, we had ground at twentie, twentie eight, seventeene, and sixteene fathome, all within ½. a cables length: then wee instantly tacked off, and had nineteene, and twentie foure, and the third cast, no ground at fortie fathome. The ground was small shingle stones like beanes, and we about five or sixe miles from the shore (an untoward place to fall with in a darke night.) This afternoone, we had a fresh gale at East by North, whereby we have gotten somewhat North by the land. *Danger.*

The thirteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie five minutes. Yesterday afternoone, wee got somewhat to the North, having a fresh gale at East by North. It hath beene calme from midnight, till eleven this forenoone, and we have driven South as appeareth by the land. We were at noone within three leagues of the shore.

The foureteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie two minutes: so that wee are gotten North but three leagues, and judgement would have allowed at least fifteene leagues North North-East. So it seemeth that the Current runneth swift, and I doubt setteth more South then South-west. For this morning, though it were hazy, we were not farre from the shoare, seeing the land all along, and now beeing much cleared we can hardly see it.

The fifteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie minutes. I can allow in judgement, no lesse then twentie leagues North by East, yet see by observation we are gone to the South; wind at South to South-west a faire gale.

Note. We cannot see the land, yet are but tenne leagues from it. I know not what course to take to get out of this Current: for if we put off, and the Current hold, it may indanger us of In. de Nova: and keeping the shore, God knoweth what dangers there be: and where such a gale stemmes not the streame, it is indiscretion to continue.

The seventeenth, latitude foureteene degrees fiftie seven minutes, so we have gotten twentie five leagues North. Judgement would allow twelve leagues North North-East, Northerly, and she hath runne nine by observation: so that the maine power of the Current is lessened. My Master opineth, that the Moones seasons have peculiar domination over these Currents, causing their force, till three or fowre dayes after the full. But I rather thinke, that the deepe Bay betweene Cape Corientes and Mosambique, causeth an indraught, or eddy of some streame, comming either from the North-East, or more Easterly in at the North-East of S. Laurence, and so along the land to the Cape Corientes: or else the streame, which is affirmed to set from S. Laurence, North-west, meeting with the land of Mozambique, may by the said falling away of the land, be drawne that way. Which supposition, if it be true, then we committed an error, in falling with the land before we had gotten neerer North, then Mosambique point, which trendeth farre into the Sea, and whence the Norther land lieth away North and South next hand; and the Souther land, South-west by &c. for if we had not fallen too much Westerly, and brought the said Cape too nigh our Meridian, we should not have felt this streame at all.

The maine power of the Current lessened.

Opinion, of the cause of the Currents.

Their sailing alongst the Ilands, & trucke at Tamara, with other occurrents I have left out, as beeing more fully knowne by later experience.

Leaving Abbadelcuria they were forced to ride in Delisa, a Road on the North of Socotora, till the Monson freed them, at which time Captaine Keeling set saile for Bantam, and Captaine Hawkins in the Hector for Surat, as shall after follow.

§. III. [I. iii. 193.]

Instructions learned at Delisa of the Moores and Guserates touching the Monsons, and while they rode there. Their comming to Priaman and Bantam.

THe Moores of this place affirme, that in some yeeres, pieces of Amber-greece are found, Poiz twentie kintals, of such bulke, that many men may shelter themselves under the sides thereof, without beeing seene. This is upon the coasts of Mombasa, Magadoxo, Pata, Brava, &c. being indeed all one long Coast. *Huge quantity of Amber-greese.* *Note.*

They of this place make yeerely voyages to the Iles of Comora, to buy slaves, and report the people to be very treacherous, having at times killed fiftie persons by treason: and therefore they trade aboord. *Notes of Comora Ilands.*

They affirme, that there are eight Hollanders upon Pemba, who have been there three or foure yeeres, whereof two are turned Moores. *Eight Hollanders upon Pemba, whereof two are Moores.*

They reckon this Monson of South winds, to begin yeerely the first of May, and the extreamitie thereof to continue one hundred dayes. The most wind (which they report to be wonderfull) is in June and July. For the tenth of August, it beginneth to be lesse wind, and soone after come the North winds with much raine, for three or foure moneths more: at what time they make the most Aloes upon the Ile, and is onely the Juyce of Semper vivens, put into Goates skins, and so dryed. *The Monson.* *Aloes how made.*

The three and twentieth, I sent a shore to weigh certaine Aloes, and received aboord, 1250. pounds, which cost for the Companies accompt, 250. Dollers, and so at other times. We bought in all 1833. pounds neat. The Chiefe sent to borrow five hundred rialls of eight, which I refused to lend. I presented him with two yards of Carsey, gallant colour, and a knife of mine. I sent againe *1250. pound Aloes.* *Presents.*

Aloes 575. pound. a shore, and received 575. pound more Aloes, cost 115. Dollers.

The foure and twentieth, I understood more, that the West winds began this yeere the last of Aprill, and doe each yeere come eleven dayes later then the yeere before: so that in thirty three yeeres, they begin againe the same day of the same Moneth; which I conceit not to be truth.

Monson. That the Easter Monson will come this yeare the thirteenth of October, and continue till Aprill forcible: and then faire weather while May. That the West Monson returneth (both Monsons falling each yeare eleven dayes later then other) neither have they more then two Monsons yeerely. That their yeere, called Neyroose, beginneth with the first of the East Monsons. That as the West Monson bloweth here all South, so doth the East Monson all North. That after the twenty fifth of September, ships cannot depart from the Red sea to the East-ward. That Chaul, Dabul, and Danda rageepuree, are good and safe ports, and rich trade townes, upon the coast of India. That at Saada, Ilbookee, Auzoane,

Iles of Comora. Mootoo, foure of the Iles of Comora, there is abundance of cheape Rice, and the people good. Jughezeegee, and Malale, two more of the same Ilands, have small store of Rice, and the people very treacherous: at the first whereof they report, that sixteen yeeres since, an English ship lost

The losse of M. James Lancaster in Captaine Raymonds Voyage. many men treacherously, which surely, was Sir James Lancaster.

That this day of May (the six and twentieth) is the two hundred and foure and twentieth of their accompt of Neyrooze. No raine on the Coast of Arabia, till the seventieth day of this Monson. The three hundred and fift of Neyroose, the best time to goe for Suratt, to put hence I say, and that in ten or twelve dayes they get thither.

Burrom, Makella and Caixem, good Ports. Burrom, Mekella, and Cayxem, are good Harboroughs for both Monsons on the Coast of Arabia, but no places for Merchandizing.

Xael. That Xael, or Xaer, hath no Harborough nor Road for

any time, but would vent Iron and Lead, a Turke being Aga: and that they send by land for such Commodities to Caixem, a dayes journey to the West-ward, but there is no going thither at this time. That in both Monsons, there is a continuall extreame Sea-gate upon the Coast of Arabia: the Current also there as the wind. That there is no riding at the entrance of Suratt, to have any shelter of the West shore, for the West Monsons, as well by reason of ill anchor ground, as chiefly the extremitie of Tydes, which (by their reports) over-set ships not a ground.

This Road of Delisa, is a very good place for the West Monson, but which is strange, two miles either East or West from the Road, it doth continually blow so much wind, that no shippe can ride it. Neither can I give any reason for it, except the distance twixt us and the high Mountaines cause it: for there is much low land betwixt us and them. June the foure and twentieth we set saile to depart. *Note.*

The three and twentieth of July, we saw an Iland, and about noone two more, wee left two to the North, and one to the South latitude of foure degrees and two minutes, South of the Equinoctiall. The North of these Iles is great, and high land full of Trees. *An Iland.* 4. *degrees,* 2. *minutes, Southerly.*

Betweene the two Southermost of these three Ilands, ten leagues distant, there lyeth a Breach dangerous about halfe way betweene them: to avoyd which we steered within two leagues of the middlemost Iland very good passage, the breach being then to the South about three leagues from us. It lyeth very dangerous for men bound through by night, not having knowledge thereof. We could discerne no unlikelihood of a passage, betweene the two Northermost also, but it is not a league broad. The Southermost Ile is the biggest. Of the two Southermost Iles, the West part of the North, and the East point of the Southermost, beare North and South ten leagues distant. The Breach lyeth from the Easter end of the Northermost of the said two South Ilands, South-east halfe the Channell over. *Notes of Iles to Sea-bord of Priaman.* [I. iii. 194.]

Note. The sixe and twentieth, we were halfe way betweene Priaman at Tecu, about three leagues from the shore where I noted, viz. The two Hummockes of Tecu, with the high land over them, beare North and by West, and South by East ½. a point Easterly. There lyeth a shoale foure mile from the shore, bearing South and North with the high land of Tecu. Wee had fortie five fathome water 2.½. leagues from the shore, we then bearing North-east by East from the Road of Priaman. There is an Iland about foure leagues from the said Road, North-east and South-west. The three Ilands of Priaman, lye South South-east, and North North-west being distant each from other about a mile. Afternoone we got into Priaman Roade, and I saluted the Towne with five Peeces of Ordnance.

Iles of Priaman.

Priaman.

The Governour sent me a Goate. I presented the Governour with three yards of Stammel-cloath, one blue Callico, one piece stocked, one Barrell, and two Sword-blades. The Governour sent me a Goate. The Messenger spake good Portuguze, to whom I presented one blue Callico. There came another of Achen, with whom I had good conversation in Arabicke, by whom I had great hope of good trade.

Presents.

I went ashore where with much adoe, we barganed for Pepper.

The nine and twentieth, I went ashore betimes, shooting seven Peeces of Ordnance, and comming to the Governours house, he presented me with a Buffalo, and appointed mee to make price of Pepper with sundry chiefe men. Where being set downe among sixtie persons, they first propounded that I must weigh such Pepper as I bought of them in the Towne: Whereabout we had much speech, I desiring to weigh upon the Iland, but they would weigh in the Towne.

They demanded fiftie Dollers the Bahar for Pepper, which much displeased me. For the Achen man had willed me to offer but sixteene Dollers, howbeit there was craft in dawbing: for he being a Merchant, would have ingrossed much Pepper, before I should have bought, and after would have sold it me at his owne price. After

Craft in dawbing.

much time, and many words, we accorded at 22.½. Dollers the Bahar, besides sixe per Cento, Custome. I refused to pay two other Customes, or rather Exactions. The one of a hundred and sixtie Dollers, the other not much lesse: whereto, with much adoe, I consented, and Writings were drawne betweene us.

The last night a man speaking Portuguse, lay aboord mee, who in the behalfe of the late Governours Wife, by him titled Queene, desired my ayde in taking the Towne, offering mee the one halfe thereof. To whom (not unacquainted with the finenesse of Moores) I refused to intermeddle, it not being answerable to my Prince, and this morning sent him ashore. *Trecherous offer of a More.*

I sold Cloth to Nakhada, for a hundred fiftie nine Masse of Gold.

The Towne and bounds of Priaman yeeld not yeerely above five hundred Bahars of Pepper, but with parts neere adjoyning, as Passaman, Tecu, Beroose, and the Mountaines over the Towne are made two thousand five hundred Bahars yeerely: which quantitie will lade two good shippes, and may bee bought very good cheape, if a Factorie have meanes to buy all the yeere. But their Harvest is only in August and September, and is fetched away by them of Achen and Java only, the Guserats not beeing permitted to Trade there, by the King of Achen his expresse commandement. So that a ship (touching at Suratt) and buying, especially blue Callicoes, white Callicoes, blue striped, and checkered Stuffes, and some small and fine Pintatoes leaving a Factorie, shall lay the best foundation for gaine, against another yeere, that ever I have heard off: I say, against another yeere, for that I see not, how ships can goe to Cambaya, and come hither time enough in one yeere. And in such case the King of Achen his Letter must be procured, for our safer proceeding in these parts. *Notes of Priaman.* *Good counsel.*

The eighteenth of September, In the morning we made saile, the Lord prosper us.

The nineteenth, At noone, we were West North-west

from the point, to the South of Priaman, ten leagues we steered to the East-ward of Ilha de Tristeza.

Note. The twentieth, before day, we saw an Iland, a head, and steered East South-east, to go cleere off it: wee went to the Eastward of it foure leagues, the Ile Sumatra being seven leagues from us.

The one and twentieth, I allow sixe and twentie Leagues South-east by South, we were within sixe or seven leagues of Sumatra, and West from us about foure leagues *Notes.* was another great Iland: so that Navigation upon this Coast is carefully to be performed, for wee find no such Iles projection.

Latitude three degrees, twentie minutes, I allow eighteene leagues South South-east winde Northerly.

Wee being nine or ten leagues from Sumatra, have *Iland.* seene another small Iland to Sea-boord of us, three or foure leagues off.

[I. iii. 195.] The first of October, 1608. Latitude five degrees and thirtie minutes, I pricke by the Land, being twelve leagues from us, and have gone faster to the South then by reckoning.

The second, we saw land in the morning, which we made for the Salt Iland, but it prooved a round Hum- *Note.* mock upon Sumatra. We have made almost no way, yet are at noon in five degrees and fiftie five minutes, by *Salt Ile, in the straight of Sanda.* help to the South. The third, we saw the Salt Ile bearing Northeast by North, some foure or five leagues from it. It lyeth in latitude sixe degrees six minutes. Wee were when we first saw the Iland, within foure leagues or lesse of the South land: whether Ilands (which I thinke) or Java, it bare from us East South-east, wind all night fresh at West and North-west.

Note. Note the South land are Iles, and lye the Wester part, with the Salt Iland (or roundest and highest Iland of the Straightes mouth) South-west by South, &c.

The neerest of the South Ilands, being the Westermost of them, is sixe leagues distant from the Salt Iland.

The Salt Iland, lyeth halfe Seas over, and the distance

twixt Sumâtra and the Souther land is twelve or fourteene leagues.

The Salt Iland, with the point including the whole Bay, wherein is Bantam Road, lye East North-east, and West South-west (which I should have set first.)

The Salt Iland with the highest South land of Sumatra (it being a round Hummock, and with the North-west point of Java, to the East-ward of the foure Ilands, which I formerly call the South land) beare East South-east, and West North-west. The Hummocke of Sumatra, and point of Java, being about twentie leagues distant.

This evening, we had the Salt Iland, foure leagues North from us.

The fourth, in the morning we were within five or sixe leagues of the point, including Bantams whole Bay, East North-east from us. There are before wee come to the said point two Rockes full of Trees, bearing each with other North and South foure miles distant betweene which two we steered. The Southermost lyeth very neere Java and the Northermost halfe way and more, betweene the point of Bantam and another low ragged Iland, which (with other two to the Northward of it) beare with the Northermost Rocke, West South-west, and East South-east, betweene which Ilands we doe not know of any passage.

Note that that ragged Iland maketh the Straight, and we came to the South thereof.

We got into the Road of Bantam where we found sixe Holland ships, whereof two were almost laden with Cloves, and two were to be laden with Pepper. *We arrived at Bantam.*

I found thirteene English alive, whereof foure were Merchants. I received a Letter from Captaine David Middleton.

The sixt, I paid Uncte and Tegin the two Chineses their wages, and released them.

The twentieth, I called my Merchants, and having formerly resolved to returne with the Dragon for England,

Counsell and resolution, to send the Pinnace for Banda.

upon speciall considerations, I now questioned concerning the imployment of our Pinnace not yet finished: where we concluded that Browne and Sidall should goe in her for Banda.

John Hearne, John Saris, and Richard Savage to remayne at Bantam. Also, that so soone as the Pinnace could returne from Banda, John Saris should goe in her to Suquedana upon Borneo.

The fifteenth of November, I sent for Jaques Lermite, and discovered unto them a purpose in the Javans, to cut their throates whereof I understood very particularly.

The two and twentieth, the Ambassador of Siam came to visit mee, and dined with me. Hee affirmeth that a thousand Clothes red, would vent in his Countrey in two dayes, and great quantitie yeerely; they clothing their Elephants and Horses therewith.

Vent of Red English cloth in Siam.

Gold is there abundant, and worth (as hee reporteth) three times the weight in Silver, beeing good Gold. There are also precious stones in quantitie, and cheape. And that their King would account it one of their greatest happinesses to have commerce with so great a King as his Majestie of England: with whom, as he understood, the King of Holland was not comparable.

The King of Holland.

The eight and twentieth, I tooke leave of the King, the Governour, the Admirall, the old Sabandare, Jura Bassa, Tanyong, and of the Hollanders, with purpose to be aboord the morrow.

The nine and twentieth, I went aboord for altogether.

The second of December, within night, our Merchants came aboord, bringing a Letter from the King of Bantam, to his Majestie of England, and two Picolls of Canton, in present unto him.

Kings Present.

The twelfth, wee espyed a Sayle, which prooved the Hector, yere wee got out of the Straights. She had no Captaine he remayning at Suratt, I understood that the Portugals had taken eighteene English, whereof divers of our Factors, and goods to the value of nine thousand Dollers.

Hector. M. Will. Hawkins, Captaine of the Hector left at Surat.

The fourteenth, we got into Bantam Roade againe, forced to a longer Voyage or losse of reputation.

The sixteenth, there came a small Flemming from Amsterdam, with newes of peace, betweene Spaine, France, and the Netherlands: and that his comming was to desist from their purpose to Malacca. *Newes of peace twixt Spaine and the Netherlanders.*

I appointed Master Molineux and Pockham for England, the rest with me for the Maluccoes. [I. iii. 196.]

The seventeenth, I removed to the Hector, and the Masters shifted ships.

The one and twentieth, I speeded Master Towerson with all things, willing his departure with all speed.

The three and twentieth, The Dragon made saile from Bantam, the Lord prosper her. *Dragon set saile for England.*

§. IIII.

Their Voyage to Banda, Observations by the way, Actions there.

THe first of January, 1609. About one in the morning we weighed, and with a gale off the shore, got about the East point, East North-east from where wee roade three leagues.

Thence to another point, South-east Easterly three leagues, betweene the two points lyeth a shoale, having little water, a great length: to prevent which, it is good to steere halfe way betweene Java, and the Iles Tonda, which are five leagues distant. *A dangerous shoale.*

To the Eastward of the second point, close aboord the shoare lyeth the Ile Tanara, and is not seene of such as come farre off, it lyeth so neere the shoare.

From the second to the third points, bearing East South-east, are foure leagues. And 1.½. mile off that point North by West lyeth the Ile Lackee, twixt which and the point is but 1.½. fathom water by report. We roade all night, having the Ile East a league off, sixe fathome water.

The fourth, wee weighed and steered within ½. a league

of Lackee, having seven or eight fathome water. The Iland Lackee, with the West point including Jacatra, lyeth East South-east foure leagues distant. There lyeth a dangerous sand off the West point of Jacatra: so it is good to borrow of the Iland lying opposite unto the said point.

Jacatra. The eighth, I went to Jacatra, and anchored farre out. The King sent his Sabandare to desire Powder and Match, *Presents.* and I presented him thirtie pound of Powder, and a roll of Match. I bought of them a Portugall Boy (which the Hollanders had given unto the King) who would by no meanes forsake Christianitie: hee cost mee fortie five Dollers. The points, as wee roade, bare North-west and East by North foure leagues distant: the Towne and highest of the Eastermost hils South by East, and the West hill South by West from us. Wee have seene since wee came from Bantam, thirtie or fortie Ilands.

The tenth in the after-noone, we weighed and got under sayle.

There lyeth a sunken Iland, even with the water, about two leagues West by North from the East point of Jacatra. We left it on our Larbord, going betweene it, and the Easter Iland. The two points making Jacatra Bay, beare East South-east, and West North-west foure leagues distant.

The Eastermost Iland lyeth in a straight Line betweene both points.

The eleventh, we were at noone ten leagues North-east from the East point of Jacatra.

The twelfth, we were at noone South-west by South two leagues from an Iland, having made East by South thirtie leagues way. And there is a shoale South and North with the said Iland three leagues from Java, called Los tres Hermanos: the Ile lyeth ten leagues from Java, but not so farre Easterly as is projected. The said Iland beareth with the highest hill we see upon Java North by West. There is a point of Java, which with the same and the former Iland, beareth South by West Westerly.

The fifteenth, we were neere Madura, contrary to my expectation. I suppose that the Ile of Java is not so long as it is projected; or else wee have found a set to the East-ward. A round Ile, and the highest Easter land of Java, beare with us South South-west, halfe West about sixe leagues from us, the Ile within three leagues of us. *Madura.*

Another Ile is with us Northwest five leagues from us. I pricked according to the land, and doe overleape thirtie leagues.

The sixteenth, I allow sixteene leagues East, North-east.

The seventeenth, I allow sixteene leagues East by North.

At noone, wee were two leagues South-east by South from an Iland which trendeth East by North two leagues long (no mention hereof in Platts.) *An Iland not mentioned.*

The eighteenth, at noone, wee were neere the Iles * Nossaseres, it was North by West a league off us. It trendeth North-west and South-east two or three leagues long, in latitude five degrees, thirtie minutes. **OrNuiastra.*

I allow thirtie sixe leagues East North-east.

We saw another flat Iland to the North thereof.

The nineteenth, I allow eighteene leagues East, wind Westerly.

The twentieth, we yet see no land, albeit the ship hath runne more ground, since wee made Nossaseres then the distance projected betweene them. This evening wee saw three Iles to the North of us, foure or five leagues or more: they were low land, and lay a good length East and West, all small Ilands. We sounded thwart of them, and had but nineteene fathome water. [I. iii. 197.] *The three Iles of Gicaliam.*

The one and twentieth, this fore-noone we saw the land of Celebes, and esteeme the distance twixt it and our being yesternoone, nine and twentie leagues as we steered East, and I deeme the Iles we saw yesterday, the Easter of them to be three and twentie leagues from Celebes. But wee could not fetch Macassar by any meanes, the wind fresh Northerly, and North-west. We anchored in twelve *Celebes.*

fathome water, the South point of Celebes, bearing East by South sixe leagues from us. Note, that the falling with Celebes, by reckoning nine and twentie leagues before we came to it, was caused by making error in the East end of Java. For whereas I over-leaped thirtie leagues there, as by the fifteenth. I was ashore heere, before wee had his length nine and twentie leagues. Wherefore I opine that the ordinary distance betweene Bantam and Celebes, being two hundred thirtie five leagues is neere the truth. Also, that betweene Celebes and Nossaseres is seventie sixe leagues, or else, that the Iles we saw the eighteenth were not (as we supposed) Nossaseres. We brake our Cable and lost our Anchor.

Note.

The distance betweene Bantam and Celebes, is 235. leagues.

The three and twentieth, from the point where wee road to another point, that is East by South ten leagues thence, to another low point East by North Northerly eight leagues (and one league East of the said East point, is the notable round land) to another low point is six leagues East, and thence to another point, three leagues North-east by East, but this distance is to the East-ward of the Straights. We haled it all night under the notable round land, it beeing foure leagues East North-east from us. The highest South land of Celebes, and the West point of Desolam, beare North North-west, tenne or twelve leagues distant. The West end of Desolam, and the low East point of Celebes (which is the narrowest of the Straights) beare South by West twelve or fourteene leagues off. The Coast of Desolam is neerest South-west.

Desolam.

The straight of Desolam.

The East end of Desolam, with the Iles making the Straight, and the East land of Celebes, in sight lye all in a right line, South and North neerest.

Cambina.

The foure and twentieth, This morning we saw Cambina, and cannot possibly bee more then twentie leagues East North-east from the Straights of Celebes.

We were at one afternoone, North-east by North eight leagues from the West point thereof, it being a very high and round hill, the rest higher, but thicke land. The

Wester part of what we see lyeth South-east by South, and the Easter part South-east by East, eight leagues long at the least.

The five and twentieth, We have done little, but are still under the Iland, and see land to the North, whether Celebes or what I know not.

The seven and twentieth, This morning wee were North and South with land lying twelve leagues East South-east from the East-side of Cambina. Comming neere it, the Wester part proved two Ilands, lying East North-east, &c.

The great Iland lyeth East by North five leagues, making three or foure head-lands. *Button.*

There lyeth a round Iland South from the said head-lands, eight leagues distant. From the Easter point to another North-east ½. North three leagues thence, to another North-east sixe leagues thence, to another North-east by North three leagues. From the last point save one, South-east by East, eight leagues lyeth a shoale sixe leagues long as it beareth.

The eight and twentieth, From the said point North-east eight leagues lyeth the Iland Ticabessa, whereof we had sight. And from the said point North-east by North fourteene leagues lyeth the East or North-east point or part of Button. *Ticabessa.*

Toward night came a Caracoll with fortie or fiftie men aboord me, sent from the King of Button, among which were the Kings Uncle, and Sonne, who knew Sidall and Spalding.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we were five leagues North-East, Northerly from the point neerest Ticabessa, and within three leagues of the North part of Ticabessa, which are two or three Iles. At noone, we were sixe leagues South-East from the East point of Button, whereby we have more way since, then the ship can have runne. *Ticabessa.*

The third, latitude foure degrees twenty five minutes. I allow twenty foure leagues East North-East, wind North-west and North North-West, but we are set Southerly. *February,* 1609.

Burro. The fourth in the morning about eight, we saw Burro, the East point whereof was North-East by East seven leagues off, and the West point North by West nine leagues off. I allow twelve leagues North-east, winde Westerly.

Counsell. The fift, taking advise what to doe, all men opined fittest to goe for Banda; winds not serving for the Moluccos, we concluded to goe thither. From the last Easter point of Burro, to another foure leagues East and

Bloy. West. The Ile Bloy lieth South and North from the Eastermost end of Burro, foure or five leagues. We saw

Amboyno. Amboyno from Burro, East by North twelve leagues, and lieth ten leagues long East, to the Eastward whereof lie other Iles, East and West of good quantitie.

The sixt, we saw the high land of Banda, and is (in my opinion) twentie five leagues distant from the Easter part of Amboyno, East by South ½. Southerly. The seventh

[I. iii. 198.] *Puloway. Pulorin.* Pulorin, with the little round Ile to the North, beareth South by East five leagues distant. Puloway with Pulorin, East South-east, and West Northwest, three leagues off.

Anchored in the roade of Banda. The eight, we got into the roade or harbour of Banda, where the people and Hollanders came to welcome me. There is a small flat Iland lyeth to the North of Pulorins East end. Puloway and the entrance of the Harborough West Northerly, three leagues distant. The two points of the Sound beare North ½. East, &c. one ½. mile distant. He that is bound in, must borrow on the North side, close under the highest Hill. We roade in sixe ½. fathome water, the Soundes entrance beeing West South-west one mile off us, Nera one mile North, and the low point of the round hill, West one mile. The Hope was put to the East, and came Piloted in the morrow.

Our Kings Letters and Presents to Nera. The ninth, I went a shore, and delivered his Majesties Letter to Nera, together with a Present, being the best gilt cup with a cover, the best Head-piece and Gorget, and one of M. Buckes Pieces, which cost twenty five Dollers. It was received with the most State that hath

been knowne: but they would bethinke themselves for our house till to morrow. The Hollanders shot five Chambers at my landing, and five at my going aboord. I dieted with them. They report, that the East Monson bloweth eight moneths, and beginneth twixt the first and tenth of May. *Monson.*

The eleventh, we agreed for the building of our house.

The one and twentieth, I went to Urtatan, to have conference with the people, where I promised to be at Lantor the Sunday following. *Urtatan.*

The five and twentieth, in the afternoone, I was called, and went to Lantor, where I delivered the Kings Letter, the small gilt cup with a cover, the faire gilt Target, one Piece stocked, and a Barrell, which they received respectively. *Lantor. Our Kings Letter.*

Nakhada China (as the Hollanders Spie) came aboord mee in the night, to counsell me to speed. Where the Dutch have a Factorie, let no man looke for better measure, large gifts being better regarded then good dealing. *The Hollanders Spie. Note of the Hollanders.*

The thirteenth, they of Lantor demanded Serepinang one hundred and fortie rialls of eight, and I required leave to sell my cloath, as I might, with a publike price making. The Priest was sent from the State, to demaund payment of Rooba, Rooba, before we traded: which I denied, except upon condition the whole Country would bind themselves to lade me with Mace and Nuts, within foure moneths. At one hundred Dollers, he tooke time to *be chary. I answered, that perceiving they deferred time till the Hollanders arrivall (which was now in suspence, the Monsons beeing almost spent, and already some East winds come in) I would not give past ninetie ryalls: wherewith he tooke his leave, having as smooth an out-side, as rough in mind. **Be chara.*

The sixteenth, there came in three tall Hollanders, without anchoring, shot thirtie, sixteene, and nine pieces of excellent Ordnance. Two of these shippes came from Tarenate, having lost Paul Van Carden their Admirall, with seventie fowre men taken by the Spaniard, who *Three Hollanders. Losse of 74. Hollanders.*

would hearken to no other ransome for him, except the Fort of Machian, by him formerly taken, might be resigned. The Dutch offered fiftie thousand Dollers for him.

The seventeenth, the Hollanders visited me by Sr Brewer.

Note second. The eighteenth, the Hollanders of the two least shippes, came to visite me, and supped with me: but an Englishman reporteth, that they meane to surprise us ere a moneth expire.

The nineteenth, the States sent againe for Rooba, Rooba, which I refused to pay, so they sent againe, to tell me, that now they are together: but except I would exceed one hundred Dollers, I should save my labour and not trouble my selfe. I sent them word againe, that though I laded not a graine, I would not give above one hundred. They sent soone after to call me, where after long dispute, we accorded at one hundred Dollers, Rooba, Rooba, three hundred and eightie Dollers, and Serepinang fifty Dollers, besides Pissalin, a dutie to the foure Sabandares, of foure peeces Sarassa, or Malaian Pintadoes.

Accorded for Spice with the Bandanesses.

Cattee Banda. We received a Beame and waight, the Cattee poize ninetie nine Dollers, and in the haberdepoize, five pound thirteene ½. ounces: so our Rials are too light.

The twentieth, this day we began to weigh, and the Hollanders comming ashore, made price at one hundred, with foure hundred Rooba, Rooba, fiftie Serepinang, and foure cloathes.

We payed the Hollanders under-hand price, else we must have beene idle.

Accord with Puloway. The three and twentieth, I made a secret accord with the Chiefe of Puloway, to send a Factory thither, and were constrained to lend them three hundred Rials, and give Serapinang one hundred Rials, with foure Malaian Pintadoes.

The foure and twentieth, the Dutch hearing of my accord with Puloway, sought to prevent me.

Six Hollanders. The nine and twentieth there came sixe great shippes

Hollanders, into the Roade, whom I saluted with nine Peeces, answered with three: besides two small Pinnasses.

The first of April, received by the Hope from Puloway, 225. ¾. Cattees, Mace, and 1307. ½. C. Nuts, which Mace (all bought by him) I marked with B. for distinction. *April the first.* 1609.

The fourth, I went aboord to cure mine eyes, which by the heat of Nuts, watching, &c. was very sore. I left the house and goods with Augustine Spalding. There arrived from the Moluccos two small Hollanders. Note, that now the wind every morning, bloweth hard Easterly. *An English house.* *Two Hollanders.*

The ninth, the Dutch Admirall, Peter Williamson Varhoef, went ashore to Urtatan. The Fleete shot fortie Peeces of Ordnance: his ship but five. He delivered a letter from Count Maurice, without present, whereof when the people demanded, answer was made: that they had one, but it was not yet accorded what it should be. This I understood. *Note.* [I. iii. 199.]

The tenth, the Sabandar at my request, sent for the same Letter, which being in Portuguse, I perused, and found it onely an authoricall Instrument, binding the Prince and State, to confirme what their Admirals and Councels should accord with other States. It was written in Paper, sealed under the Contents, and left open for all.

The eleventh, we began to bring our Nuts aboord, thereto constrained by the Dutch: their meaning was, to goe ashore within a day or two: so that we could neither select the best, nor let them lie long enough in sweate. *Note.* 259. *Suckles.*

The twelfth, this night after the first watch, the States sent foure men to request my company ashore instantly, which I refused to doe till morning.

The thirteenth, I went betimes ashore, where the Sabandar of Nera came to visit me, and then after much talke, I propounded (as I had sundry times formerly done) the formall delivering of Banda, to the use, and in the Name of his Majestie of England, our Soveraigne, before the Hollanders did land, or begin their purposed Fort. They seemed to like well thereof, and concluded to be chary *My motion to the Bandanesses.*

thereabout, and give me answere to day: but I doubt their inconstancies.

The fifteenth day, the Dutch went ashore, twentie Boats, one thousand and two hundred men: the Naturals fled.

The eighteenth, I went ashore, and sent for some Hollanders of note, to speake with mee, to whom I made knowne many wrongs I had received since their comming in: wishing redresse, and affirming, that though we were not at present strong enough to right our selves, yet his Majestie of England, our Soveraigne, would not permit his Subjects to sustaine any dammage by their meanes, without speciall and sound satisfaction.

Note. I affirmed, that notwithstanding wrongs received, I could not chuse but Christianly advertise them, that the people purposed to poyson their water, and to that end warned me not to drink thereof. He thanked me, and having beene with their Admirall, requested me from him, to have patience concerning Rice, till he had had counsaile therein. (Necessitie hath no Law.)

The twentieth, I went ashore to fetch the Rice, in part of Daton Putee his debt to the Company: but the Hollanders had dishonestly taken the same, notwithstanding the Admirall promised that I should have it. Thence I went among the Javans, to have bought some Rice, who

Note. generally affirmed, that the Hollanders had straightly charged them, not to sell me any: neither durst they, though I offered five Dollers the Coyoung more then the Dutch paid. At my comming home, I found him that the Admirall had formerly sent unto me, whom I requested to tell his Admirall, that I esteemed his so taking my Rice, a great wrong: and that if he were a Gentleman, he would not permit his base people to abuse me as I walked among them. Whereto was answered, that he was a Weaver. I reprehended the reporter, being an English-man serving them, who affirmed, that his owne people spake so of him generally. Thence I tooke my Praw, and went to Labatacca, where I found such small doings, as was not fit to keepe people thereabout: wherefore I appointed them to

come away in the Skiffe, which I would send for them and their goods to day.

The two and twentieth, I went to Comby, where the Dutch did us much wrong, even in our yard: whereof having sundry times complained without redresse, is argument, that it proceeded by order from the chiefe. *The Hollanders much wrong us.*

The foure and twentieth, they began their Fort. *Dutch Fort began.*

The five and twentieth, a Dutch Pinnasse from Puloway, would give me no newes of Browne there. I mannaged my Skiffe, and went to Puloway, where I found litle Spice. The people desired me to stay at Ayre Putee, promising to lade me, offering to enact among them the penaltie of death, to such as would sel one Cattee of Spice to the Hollanders. I seemed to distrust their words, having once before deceived me: whereupon they offered to passe writings and oathes. I questioned the bringing of it aboord, which they refused, fearing the Dutch. I offered to send one English-man in each Praw, and to runne the hazzard if the Dutch tooke it: but they would not hazzard their people.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, putting into my Boate foure Suckles of Mace, and many Nuts, with three Chiefe, to consider what to doe: by the way the Chiefe affirmed, that if we would not deale with them, their Spice should rot upon the trees, and they would all dye, ere they would deale with the Hollanders. But they are wicked and faithlesse Moores, neither know I what to doe. For by going for the Moluccos, I must loose two thousand Dollers owing here, and trade there uncertaine: and staying two moneths more heere, will prevent going to the Moluccos: At last we agreed.

The nine and twentieth, the Chiefe being convented, after many protests, they made mee a writing to deale with me onely, for all their Spice at Puloway, and Puloron, and at Ayre Putee, and not to sell or part with the Hollanders one Cattee thereof. *Ayre Putee.*

The Hollanders offered twelve thousand Dollers among the Countrey, to make their peace, and drive us hence, [I. iii. 200.]

Note.

which they refused: and desired me often, and earnestly, not to conceit ill, in that they permitted the Dutch to come ashore, and sell their Cloath, being upon a speciall consideration, to me immateriall.

May the fourth, 1609.

The fourth of May 1609. I went to Puloway, where I found the Hollanders offer Cloath at ⅔. our price. I found a thousand Cattees Nuts, and two hundred Cattees Mace, which they of Pulorin had sold us, not weighing to the Hollanders one Cattee.

The quarrels twixt the Dutch and Bandesses, grew partly out of the levity of these, and partly out of the insolency of those which exercised fortifications instead of merchandising, & spared not the libertie of the living or sepulchres of the dead. Hence murthers and hostilitie. See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 16. §. 2. Note. Shot with a Trunke. Note.

The eight, the Dutch there sent to request the conveyance of a Letter, and a sick man aboord them, which I promised: but my Nuts being readie to lade, Nakhada Goa came to me from the Chiefe, to intreate me, not to carrie their man or letter, but stay also my selfe, which I refused, and fitted hence. Whereof hee having informed, they sent me word againe by him: that if I went, they would make purchace of whatsoever I left behind, and account us enemies: whereupon I stayed.

The ninth, the people sent and required me, not to depart these foure daies. As I was going to bed, there came a command upon our lives, that we should not stirre out of doores: and presently thereupon, I heard that the Dutch were upon their knees to the people. I armed my selfe and went out among them, where I found the Dutch overcome with feare; and demanding the cause of comming aboord so late, they answered, that one of them was shot into the legge with a Truncke, as he slept in their house: which caused them to seeke my helpe, and were intercepted by the way. I went home with them, and leaving three English with two of them in their house, I brought two Dutch home with me.

The tenth, in the morning, I caused the goods of the Dutch (at their earnest request) to bee brought home to my house, whereat the Countrey seemed offended with me.

There was counsaile taken, and resolution to kill the Dutch, but Nakhada Goa preserved their lives. The Dutch were commanded by the people, not to stirre out

of doores, upon paine of their lives, their goods and money registred. This evening many Prawes and men went hence.

The twelfth, at night, there returned a Praw with newes, that they had slaine the Dutch Admirall, with all his chiefe followers and counsaile. *Dutch Admiral murthered.*

The thirteenth, I had much adoe to keepe the Dutch from being slaine, by those of Campon Awrat, whose Sabandar was slaine by the Dutch. *Note. English curtesie to the Hollanders: but how repaid since, the world hath seene.*

The foureteenth, two Dutch Pinnasses arrived, and the Countrey would faine have gotten them ashore: whereof my people, by order advised them. They of Campon Awrat came all armed, to have slaine the Dutch, which with much intreaty and danger, I prevented. About noone, I sent away my Schiffe with Letters, of, and for the Dutch. This night, wee had much adoe to preserve the Dutch alive with carefull watch.

The fifteenth, my Schiffe returned with Letters, from, and for the Dutch.

The sixteenth, the States consulted and resolved, that with me the Dutch should be safe: but would not permit them aboord their shippes. I came aboord, and brought Letters from, and to the Dutch, and at the Harboroughes mouth, was hayled by five Dutch Shallops, and other Boates.

The twentieth, in the evening, Simon Hoen, Vice-admirall, came aboord me, giving me many thankes, for kindnesses shewed to the Dutch at Puloway. I shot seaven parting Guns. *Note.*

The five and twentieth, I manned my Praw, and went to Labatacca, where they desired a man or two Ledgers, to buy their Spice, which I promised them. The Hollanders pulled downe my house, and satisfied me for the same, one hundred and fiftie Dollers, besides fortie of the boords. *Our house sold.* When I was going to bed, Van Bergell, and Samuel King, came from the Vice-admirall, to let me know, that they had counselled concerning my Trade at Labatacca, and concluded to permit my quiet Trade there: except

at such times, as they should come to surprise the same. Also, they requested me not to take offence, if their Boates laied mine aboord, to search what aide I did to their enemies, which I tooke in ill part. And in prevention of which inconveniences, I propounded unto them: that if they would pay me such debts, as Nera and Cumber owed me, amounting to twelve or thirteene hundred Dollers, I would trade at Puloway and Pulorin only: whereof they promised me answere to morrow.

The sixe and twentieth, Van Bergell brought me word, that I might trade at Labatacca.

The seaven and twentieth, I sent Matthew Porter with a Cargason to Labatacca.

The one and thirtieth, I went to Labatacca to forward businesse. About supper time, Van Bergell and Samuel King came aboord me, desiring private speach with me from their Vice-Admirall: and going into my Cabbine, after many Italian-like Complements, they delivered me a note from their Vice-Admirall, permitting us trade, but prohibiting victuall and munition to be carried to the people, which they held for enemies, and requesting that their Boates might passe by them to be searched to that ende, which else should be done by force, *threatning confiscation of ship and goods.

*I have left out (fearing the tediousnesse) this & other letters on both sides.

I answered; that I would follow my trade, wherein if he wronged me, it would be too heavy for him to answer. That I had a remainder of the Rice, which I formerly acquainted him, which I would sell, except they tooke an unanswerable course therein. That for Munition, I had [I. iii. 201.] in the shippe not past twenty hand-gunnes, belonging to sundry poore men, the sale whereof I neither could nor would prevent, except they would buy them, which I would cause to be reasonably sold. Concerning my subjection to their search, I answered, to have rather my estate, and life hazarded here, then my hitherto unspotted reputation at my comming home: nay, I should therein become a Traytor unto my Soveraigne, wherewith my conceit was never stained.

The second of June, I sent the Vice-Admiral and Councell a few lines in Answer thereof, by Augustine Spalding, seeking all wayes of Peace. *June*, 1609.

The third, I received a note from the Dutch, whereby they would continue their search by all meanes, offering to buy the hand-gunnes, but not permit the Rice to be carried. Whereto instantly by their Messenger, I answered, as followeth;

My reply.

THe Vice-Admirall, M. Simon Jahnson Hoen, &c. of the Dutch Fleete, may please to know; That to the ende, to take away all cause of quarrell from them to us, and shew the World our honest cause, and their wilfulnesse: Whereas they will not permit my Rice to bee carried to Puloway, I will likewise therein consent to them, upon condition, that they shall revoke their purposed search. And to the end, they shall have some securitie for the performance, I will passe my yet unfalsified word; or if that (through your incredulitie) be not sufficient, mine oath unto your Deputies, or your selves, generally at pleasure to the same effect. But if herein you will not (through desire of quarrell with the English) consent unto my reasonable request: then be pleased to knowe, that I will send it, at what price or hazard soever. Concerning our munition, I write nothing; your purpose to buy the same, beeing prevention to your owne doubts, which I pray let bee done speedily for your owne satisfactions. Thus I commit you to the Almightie, who prosper your honest proceedings, as I wish to mine owne. From aboord the Hector in Banda, this third of June, 1609.

WILLIAM KEELING.

Dutch resolution.

Toward night, they sent me againe their last resolution (they having called foure Counsells thereabout) holding their determination for the search. Whereupon, considering their purposes, and that the least breach would proove totall, wherein sixtie two men, against a thousand or more, could not performe much (to the hazarding of

ship and goods or at least not permission to lade, their Fort commanding all) I yeelded as upon constraint to the search.

The fift, I went with my last Rice to Puloway, the Hollanders having first sent aboord, and searched, to our great discontents; notwithstanding which, the ship at Lantor weaved us, and called us aboord. I refused; they said they would shoote: but I neither went aboord, nor they shot.

The foureteenth, I went to Labatacca, where I bought some Spice, and put away some cloth.

The foure and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed eleven Suckles Mace.

The five and twentieth, I went to Lantor to recover some debts made by Sidall, which were denied. The sixe and twentieth, I sent my great boat for Puloway. I went to Labatacca, whence I stowed two Suckles Mace.

The seven and twentieth, my Boat returned with Spice from Puloway. The Javans began to have conference with the Hollanders.

The nine and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed foureteene Suckles Mace.

July, 1609. The first of July, 1609. I went to Cumber to account with debters. The second, the Hollanders (with all the strength they could make, leaving the shippes and fort weakely manned) went and tooke Labatacca: where, as they say, they killed twenty or sixteene persons, and burned the Towne, bringing away pots and pannes. I am verily persuaded, that fortie men would have done as much as they did, with more then tenne times so many.

Labatacca taken by the Hollanders.

The fourth, I sent to Cumber, and one of my Guserates counselled me to goe no more: for they distrust my Intelligence with the Dutch.

The sixteenth, before day, the Hollanders with their whole power went to the East-ward, and having burned certaine boates, and returning to take Salomo, were there at much strife about landing, not who should land soonest, but who might stay longest aboord. By which, and

other their defaults, they were repulsed with the losse of sixe men, besides many hurt: among whom the Governour, M. Jacob de Bitter, is reported to have behaved himselfe worthily there. Afterward, Matthew Porter and others, desired to goe a shore, which I permitted, by whom one sent me word, that the Hollanders meant to take me, and wished me to looke well to my shippe and selfe. The cause, as he saith, was this: They report that the two last nights wee made signes a shore, (and were by the people answered) of the Hollanders provision to land: whereof God knoweth, that I knew nor heard not. *Salamo repulseth the Dutch.*

The seventeenth, the Dutch sent Van Bergell, and Samuel King aboord mee, requesting to know when I hoped to be gone: wherein I could not satisfie them, Puloway delaying mee as it doth. They offered to make good all my debts, if I would be gone speedily, which I refused: affirming that the Company would not feele so small a losse. Also, that I could not answer it at home, having stayed till now, that lading is readie. We had some speach concerning the supposed signes, which we should make to the Countrey against them: Wherein I made just protests to the contrary. *Note.* [I. iii. 202.]

They affirmed us to have made signes two nights together, and said, that many Depositions were taken thereupon: (a signe of their purpose to quarrell with us.) Also, that one of my men yesterday being in their Fort demanded, why we made signes to the Countrey? should answere: that we had reason so to doe, the Countrey being so much indebted unto us, and the Dutch hindering us what they can. Which imposture, I had no patience longer to hearken unto, but pawned my hand that they could not prove any thing, first or last: wishing them to take their courses. Howbeit, that I might utterly prevent all cause of mistrust in them of us even in the whole Worlds opinion: I offered to goe ride in Laboan Java, where I might neither know their stirrings, nor could make signes to hurt them.

The eighteenth, in the afternoone the Dutch sent many

of their chiefe aboord me, who at first demanded kindly, whether I continued in my former determination of lading here? whereto I answered yea. Whereupon they desired me to take some course to goe hence in friendship, I answered, that now Spice was readie, I hoped to get hence within twentie dayes laden, and in friendship. Many reasons passed betweene us: but when they saw my purpose, they delivered me a note from their Vice-Admirall and Councell, wherein were forged as many untruthes as lines. The Copie whereof followeth.

The Dutch their note, fraughted with as many untruths, as so few lines may well containe: shewing their ingrate affections, for all Christian helps by our Nation performed.

THe Generall Master William Keeling, May please to know, that it hath beene by our Deputies proffered unto him, that if he thought good to transport over to us, the Debts remayning among the Bandaneses, and then in friendship withdraw from the Roade, with his shippe (which himselfe heretofore hath partly made mention of to some of us) we are resolved to deale with him in that behalfe. And albeit, this reasonable proffer, to eschew quarrell, is by us to him motioned: yet hath the Generall afore-said, denyed to accept the same. Notwithstanding we have sufficient occasion enough, with good reason to command him, with his said ship, to withdraw from forth this Roade, and out of our Fleete also, without the command of the Artillery of the Fortresse of Nassau: and that the foresaid Generall may understand the reasons which mooved us to the same we have at large remonstrated the same as followeth.

The eight of Aprill, 1609. The Worshipfull Admirall Peter Williamson Var Hoef, being anchored with his Fleete, in the Ilands of Banda, and there understanding of the Merchants of the united East India Company, how they were through the Inhabitants of Banda, daily constrayned and molested, and also sometimes dispossessed of their Clothes and Merchandizes, which they held for themselves at such rates as they pleased, satisfying for them, as and when they thought good: and so remayned

indebted so much, as their debt unto the Generall East India Company, amounted unto above twentie thousand Rials of eight, without intention to recontent the same. And further that our Liegers, concerning their lives, have ever lived in very doubtfull estate, fearing, least daily they would untimely practice their ends, as appeared few yeares past, they have murthered our Merchants, and forcibly taken other some, and after their custome, made Heathens of them.

Wherefore the Admirall afore-said was moved by all friendly meanes, to make a Castle or Fortresse, whereby our Liegers, and Merchandizes, might rest in better safety, both against the Portugall, and against all other our Enemies: which by most of the chiefe Oran-Cayas, was condescended unto. And thereupon, have wee proceeded to the building of a Fortresse, upon the Iland Neyra. Which Fortresse, being about halfe finished, the Admirall Var Hoen abovesaid, hath procured a Convention of the chiefe Oran-Cayas, and Councell of the Ile of Banda, to meet with him, and other of his Councell at Ratoo: and there to have entred in treatie of a friendly accord and contract together. To which effect, the said Admirall appointed the Fiscall, or Justice of the Fleet, besides other of good account, as Hostages, to continue at Keyacke: that thereby, they, the rather or with lesse feare might come to the Admirall aforesaid, and his Councell.

The building of this Fort, how it was liked of the Inhabitants, the Premisses declare. Besides, they prophaned their Buriall ground to that purpose, an odious abhomination to the Bandaneses. And how unlikely is it that they would admit a Fort to captivate their libertie, and that neere their Mesgid to prophane their Religion? Their practises since may awaken the Readers Observation.

Thus the Admirall, with divers of his Councell, together with a Company of his Souldiers, the two and twentieth of May, 1609. came to Ratoo, the nominated place of Convention; there being a Bandanese approached unto him out of the Woods; who told the Admirall, that the Oran-Cayas, and other chiefe of the Iles, were neere there in the Woods, but were so timerous of the Souldiers, that the Admirall had with him, as they feared to come unto him: and therefore prayed him and his Counsell to come unto them. The Admirall understanding the report, passed towards them, together with his said Councell, and left his Souldiers at their appointed place. And being

The two and twentieth of May, 1609.

entred amongst them, hee found the Woods replenished with armed Black-Moores, Bandaneses, and Oran-Cayas, who instantly incircled them, and without much conference betweene them passed, were by them treacherously and villanously massacred, and gave every of our chiefe, no lesse then twentie wounds. This Stratageme thus performed, they presently assaulted the Company of Souldiers, intending to have served them with the like sawce. But they partly in feare, and doubt of some treachery, armed themselves, and stood in their defence, and encountered one another, so as in fine they betooke themselves to their best refuge, with losse of some of their chiefe, and so fled unto Cayack: and there have murthered the Fiscall or Justice afore-said, with the rest of the hostages, besides divers others of our people, who were walked into the Woods, to gather Cocus Nuts: insomuch, as at that time, were murthered about forty of ours by the Bandanesses, contrary to their oathes and promises. All which, provoketh us to execute and practise all revenge possible, toward the inhumane treacherous Bandanesses: which occasions pricke us forward, to prosecute this present bloudy warre against them. Then followed many presumptions of his assistance of the Bandanesses, by English Powder and Munition, by signes, &c. which I omit. They conclude on those suppositions.

The Admirall and Councell of the Hollanders slaine.

[I. iii. 203.]

We, by vertue of our Commission, and Patent of his Princely Excellency, commaund the foresaid Generall to withdraw with his ship from forth our Road out of our Fleet, and without the command of the Artillery of the Foretresse of Nassau, within the time of five daies, after the date hereof. And in that we have conquered, by force of Armes, the Iland Nera, so doe we also pretend, and hold the Roades thereabout depending, as the Road of Labatacca, &c. to bee under our command: and will not permit any (the time that we warre with the Bandanesses) to anchor there.

Thus by us ordained, past, and absolutely resolved upon by the Vice-Admirall, and residue of the Councell in the

shippe of Hollandia, upon the Roade of Banda, the eight and twentie of July, 1609. *July eighteene, 1609.*

Simon Johnson Hoen, Jacob de Bitter, Hen: Van Bergell, John Cornelisson Wiist, Will: Jacobson, Simon Martens, Rufger Tomassen, Marlahen. 1609. Peter Bahuec. 1609. Will. Vandervort, alias, Secret.

Whereto I briefely answered by word, that I could not answere my so going hence (lading being now ready) to my Countrey: and that unlesse I were otherwise commaunded then by words, I would ride here till I were laden, which would be within five and twentie daies at the uttermost. They affirmed, that this their signification to me, was answere. Whereto I applyed, that oftentimes rash men threatned to kill, which they durst not for life performe. I shot five parting Peeces.

The nineteenth, I sent away my Schiffe for Puloway, to know of riding there. Van Bergell came aboord to search the Boate; I willed him to tell the Vice-Admirall, that I would leave a Factorie at Puloway, in case of constraint: and without constraint I would not hence.

The twentieth, about one this morning, my Schiffe returned from Puloway, without note of our debts, or Inventory of goods, the principall causes of my writing. He onely affirmed, that the people were willing to pay their debts, if we could stay fifteene or twentie daies: also offering us their best Road at Puloway. The Dutch and we came to some accord for the time of our stay, and for our debts, the Monson also inviting us thereto, and the Trade which already we had.

The first of August 1609. peace generally published twixt the Dutch and Countrey, is an uncomfortable argument of the Puloyans breaking with us. The Dutch sent me a Letter of credit, for the receit of my debts left at Banda, payable at Bantam. The Hollanders this evening, shot an hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance, for joy of peace. Upon the Governors earnest intreatie, I went to see the Dutch Fort, whose square may be

The first of August, 1609.

Peace between the Hollanders and the Bandanesses.

foote, having thirtie Peeces of Ordnance in circa, wherof eight very good Brasse Demi-canons.

The fourth, I sent my Boat to fetch away goods, wherein came a Servant of Nakhada Guserat, by whom I understood that the Pulowans were resolved to let me have no more Spice, except some little, to shaddow their wrong unto us: wherefore I sent the Boat againe for Browne. I being faire by the Towne, shot five Peeces, the better to procure my people thence: they not perceiving that we tooke any displeasure at their ill dealings. I sent againe for Browne, which Boat staying long, I shot two severall warning Peeces. Whereupon M. Browne came aboord me, but not Spalding: affirming, that they would not let him come, before I came ashore. Wherefore I stood againe to the Eastward, and comming somewhat neere the Towne, the King of Macassar came aboord me, to redeeme his pawne, and brought Spalding and the three Dutch aboord mee, more thankes to the love of his good pawne, then their honesties.

Perfidy of the Ilanders.

The King of Macassar commeth aboord.

Banda waights.

The tenth, I weighed an halfe hundred by our ordinary Banda Beame, and it weighed nine ½. Cattees, whereby the Cattee appeareth to weigh five pound, foureteene ½. ounces haberdepoize. I weighed also the single Cattee, which made five pound foureteene ½. ounces haberdepoize.

Macassar upon Celebes.

The eleventh, we anchored neere Macassar upon Celebes, I being very desirous to goe thither, hoping upon reports, to finde Cloves there for Cloth.

The twelfth, I sent my Schiffe armed, to inquire of the place, who returning, heard that Macassar was yet ½. a daies saile to the North: and that three moneths since there was a Dutch ship lost in sight of the Towne: upon which dangerous report, we gave over the search of Macassar.

A ship of Holland lost before Macassar.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in Jaccatra, where we found the Banda and Enquisen, two Dutch shippes, having beene eight daies there: who brought our people (in the Hope) and their goods from Amboyno.

The sixe and twentieth, comming neere the point, we [I. iii. 204.]

met a Praw with Ralfe Hearne, sent by Master John Saris to me, who had readie three thousand foure hundred eighty one bagges of Pepper. We got betimes into the Roade, and John Saris came aboord me in a Dutch Boat. *They arrive in the Road at Bantam.*

The thirteenth, upon the Kings request, I sent five and twentie armed men to make him pastime, which he willed in honour of his having the last night, made conquest of his Wives virginitie.

The three and twentieth, having taken in there foure thousand and nine hundred bags of Pepper, I questioned the leaving of a Factorie, where to we accorded.

The seven and twentieth, I appointed the Factorie at Bantam, (viz:) Augustine Spalding, Factor, at fiftie pound sterling a yeare: Francis Kellie, Chirurgion, fortie five shillings a moneth: John Parsons thirtie shillings a moneth: Robert Neale, twentie nine shillings a moneth: Augustine Adwell, foure and twentie shillings a moneth: Etheldred Lampre, twentie shillings a moneth: William Driver, twentie shillings a moneth: William Wilson, two and twentie shillings a moneth: William Lamwell, sixteene shillings a moneth: Phillip Badnedge, sixteene shillings a moneth: Francisco Domingo, twelve shillings a moneth: Juan Seraon, ten shillings a moneth: Adrian, Master Towersons Boy, ten shillings a moneth. I also hired sixe persons to goe with us for England, and make all possible speed. *Factory at Bantam.*

The nine and twentieth, we ended with the Governor about our customes, with much adoe.

The thirtieth, we delivered the Companies businesse from Saris to Spalding, giving him speciall charge of the Dutch insolency and hate towards us, and therefore to have little to do with them.

The second of October, 1609. I went and tooke my leave of the Governour, and desired his favour to our Factor, which he promised in seeming hartily. *October, 1609.*

The third, betimes I came aboord for adue, having visited all my friends.

The first of November, 1609. About the distance sixe hundred and fiftie from Bantam, wee were in five and twenty degrees South Latitude, having foure and twenty degrees variation, and foure and twentie daies running it.

Storme. The nine and twentieth, we had all day an hard gale of wind, which towards night prooved a storme, at West South-west from the North-ward, and put us to try with our maine course, continuing all night, and the next day. Wherein (as sundry other times before) we have found *Note.* a report of Linschot to be true, that generally all Easterly winds comming about to the North-ward, if it prove raine, presently the wind commeth about to the West South-west, and there bloweth. We were in two and *Variation thirteene degrees.* thirtie ½. South when the storme tooke us, and had about thirteene degrees variation, and upwards.

December the eight. 1609. Terra Donatall. The eight of December, 1609. We fell betimes in the morning, with Terra Donatall, some sixe leagues off us, the Wester part where the variation was about eight ½. degrees. We were at noone under thirtie one degrees, and seven and twentie minuts of Latitude, wee standing South South-East (wind at South-west) under low sailes.

We met a Hollander, and understood by them, that the Erasmus (a ship of the Fleete, which made homewards, at my arrival with the Dragon at Bantam) being very leaky at Sea, and the rest of the Fleete so leaving her, steered for the Iland Mauritius, and there unladed the said Erasmus, leaving the goods there, with five and twentie persons to guard the same, till it might be sent for: the rest of her company being now in this ship;

The latitude and description of the Ile Mauritius. That upon Mauritius were two havens; the one, called the North-west, lying under twenty degrees, somewhat lesse; the other, the South-East in twenty degrees and fifteene minuts, all kind of refreshments being there to bee had: as Fish, Turtles, Manatees, in great abundance, Fowles infinite, and Goates, newly by them brought thither, in some reasonable number, Hogs also, and the place very healthfull. The Iland is betweene thirtie and fortie leagues in circuit: and the variation there being one

and twentie degrees the North-westing. They came from Bantam in May, were a moneth getting Mauritius, stayed there foure moneths and an halfe, and have beene sixe weekes thence, whereof seventeene daies with contrary winds.

The two and twentieth, we were in Latitude thirty five degrees, twentie eight minuts, and within seaven leagues of the Cape Agulhas, which riseth like two Iles, we being South-East off it: but comming more thwart like three Ilands, two Bayes North making three perspicuous points low, and seeming round. We sounded about seaven in the evening, and had seventy seven fathome water, Oazy ground, being South off the shore, about five leagues the most, and as I gesse, newly got to the Westward of the Flats shoaldest. *Cape Das Agulhas.*

I observed the Sunnes setting, and found small variation, having eight and twentie ½. degrees (South of the West) Azimoth, our latitude being about five and thirtie degrees, and six and twentie minutes.

A man bound home upon this Coast, finding no weather for observation, either for latitude or variation, may boldly and safely keepe himselfe in sixtie fathome water, and shelly ground: and when he findeth Oazy, is very neere Cape Das Agulhas: and when he looseth ground at one hundred and twenty fathome line, he may resolve that he hath past the said Cape, provided hee be within the latitude of thirty sixe degrees. *Note.*

The three and twentieth, we steered all night, West by North, and West North-west, a fresh gale Easterly, and in the morning, saw the land all along, about eight or ten leagues from us high land. About noone, we were neere Cape Buona Speranza, having runne twixt Cape D'agulhas and it, in seventeene houres. We got within three leagues of the Suger-loafe, and stood off and on all night. [I. iii. 205.] *Cape De Buona Speranza.*

The eight and twentieth, I received by the Dutch Boate sixe sheepe (the fattest that ever I saw) from the Iland: the taile of one of them was eight and twenty inches broad, and weighed five and thirty pound weight.

Maine top saile bought. I received of the Dutch a Maine Top-sayle (whereof we had extreame want) and delivered them a note to the Company, to receive twelve pound twelve shillings for the same: besides, their promises to us for other wants, are very honest and Christian-like. We tooke fat sheep left on Pengwin Iland, and set leane in their roome. I left a note also there of my comming, and the state of my company, as others had done before.

January the tenth. 1610. *Set Sayle.* The tenth of January, in the morning, wee were under sayle homeward. Note, that all the time we have beene heere, the wind hath beene Westerly, and Southerly: and the two former times that I was heere, at the same season, it blew stormes Easterly.

SouthTropick. The twentieth, we passed the Southerne Tropicke, about noone. The Dutch came and supped with me: shot three parting Peeces.

Santa Helena. The thirtieth, before day, we saw S. Helena, having steered sixtie sixe leagues West in that latitude. We roade on the North-west part thereof, a mile from the shore, North-west from the Chappell, in two and twenty fathome sandy ground. The Iland may lie truly two hundred and seventy, or two hundred and eightie leagues to the West-ward, from the land of Æthyopia, we were faine to steere close in under the high-land, to get ground, the bancke being steepe too, and without no anchoring.

February 9. *Set sayle from S. Helena.* The ninth of February, wee weighed, and made sayle home-ward: having received aboord heere, for refreshing, nineteene Goates, nine Hogges, and thirteene Pigges.

Ascention. The sixteenth, we saw the Ile Ascention seven or eight leagues West South-west from us.

We left the Dutch to our Christian griefe. The eight and twentieth, in the morning, the wind being Westerly, and reasonable faire weather, we steered with the Dutch (who had made a Waft upon his Mizen Mast-head for us.) He told us, that he had but eight or nine men standing, the rest sicke, and sixe and forty dead. A grievous chastisement unto them, and to us, a never sufficiently acknowledged mercy: that they who offered to spare me ten or twenty men, or more upon occasion,

should so generally decay, and we loose no one, nay every one in good health.

Toward night, at my Companies earnest sute, considering our leake, with many other just causes, on our part, besides our want of meanes to aide them, though we should accompany them: they having (without any our speech or motion to the like end) desired us to acquaint such Dutch, as we should meete with their distresse, that they might take the best course for their ayde, wee made saile, and left them not without sensible and Christian greefe, for our want of meanes to helpe them. Latitude forty five degrees and sixe minutes.

The first of May, 1610. We had very faire weather, *May* 1610. wind South-west, latitude forty nine degrees, and thirteene minuts.

The second, betimes in the morning, the wind came at South, and blew an hard storme, which put us into our fore-course.

Toward night, we spake with a Lubecker, who told us, that Silley bare East by North (thirtie eight Dutch miles, which is fiftie leagues) from us: and the weather being faire, we made saile. I told them of the distressed Dutch.

The ninth, in the morning, Beachy was North North-East, three leagues from us.

The tenth, about Sun-set, we anchored in the Downes.

END OF VOLUME II.

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